NAPHTALI KINBERG

STUDIES IN THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF CLASSICAL ARABIC



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OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

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EDITED BY

T. MURAOKA AND C.H.M. VERSTEEGH

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BY

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EDITED BY

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PREFACE

On August 6, 1997, our friend and colleague Naphtali Kinberg died; he was just 49 years old. Naphtali's death came as a shock to us all. We had all been aware of the fact that he had been seriously ill for quite some time, but we believed or wished to believe that he had recovered and was starting again with his research projects. In 1996 he had been corresponding on his latest project, an edition, translation and critical study of a phonetic treatise on the pronunciation of the letter *ḍād*, which he was very enthusiastic about.

Since his dissertation, which he submitted at Ann Arbor in 1977, Naphtali had worked in two fields, the history of the Arabic linguistic tradition and the structure of Classical Arabic. But the two fields were closely interrelated for him and in his study of Classical Arabic he was always acutely aware of the mass of information contained in the corpus of the Arabic grammarians.

The first time I met Naphtali was during the second Nijmegen workshop on the history of Arabic linguistics in 1987. All participants in the workshop were passionate researchers in this field of interest. What Naphtali introduced us to was a new angle to the history of Arabic linguistics: he had become interested in a grammarian we all knew existed, but about whom we knew preciously little, the Kufan grammarian al-Farrā'. He had been studying al-Farrā' for a long time and he showed us how al-Farrā''s main work, the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* could be used for a reevaluation of the history of Arabic linguistics. Together with Kinga Dévényi and Rafi Talmon, who had also become interested in al-Farrā', Naphtali set out rewriting the early history of Arabic grammar.

Already during this workshop Naphtali told us about the index of al-Farrā''s *Ma'ānī*, which he was preparing and which was to provide us with the means to use this work to the full for our own research. We knew that it would take some time before the index would appear, nonetheless whenever we needed a couple of quotations for a specific term, Naphtali was always willing to help us out.

The last time I saw him was during a conference organised by Yassir Suleiman at the University of Edinburgh in August 1996. He had just undergone therapy for his brain tumor and seemed tired,

but healthy again. His voice had not yet completely recovered from the therapy, but his enthusiasm and interest in the Arabic grammatical tradition remained unabated. Even though his wife Leah had to read the paper, he insisted on answering the questions after the paper himself. We were all convinced that it would only be a matter of time before he would be as active and productive as before.

Indeed, the publication of the index on al-Farrā''s *Maʿānī*, a very large volume in Brill's prestigious series *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, 1996) must have been a joyful event for him. Time and again we had asked, even begged him to publish it, but he was never completely satisfied. When the book finally appeared we realised why he had chosen to wait for so long: he wanted it to be the ultimate research tool for all those who were engaged in this field of Arabic grammar.

A few months later the illness reappeared and took him away.

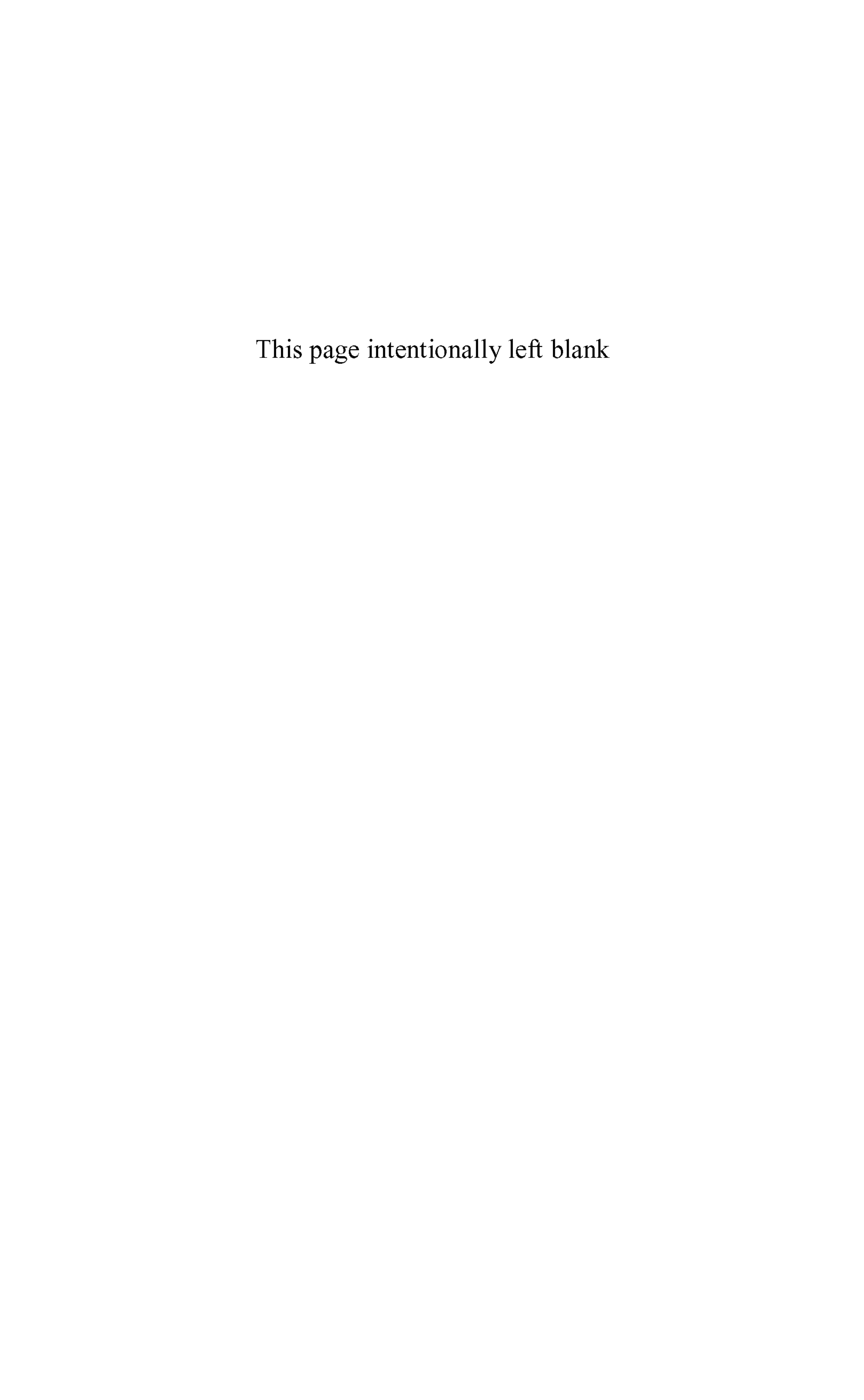
This is not the place to go into Naphtali's other qualities, as a friend, as an administrator at the Department of the University of Tel Aviv, and as a karate expert, whose black belt (third dan) strangely contrasted with his gentle nature and natural friendliness. Our aim here is to pay tribute to him as a scholar. Almost spontaneously Naphtali's colleagues at the University of Tel Aviv decided after his death to edit a memorial volume with contributions from many of his colleagues in Israel and abroad; this volume has now appeared in the series of *Israel Oriental Studies*.

But we also wished to do something with his own legacy. At an early stage Leah asked me to look into the possibility of publishing a collection of his papers in Brill's series *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*. She also gave me the unfinished manuscript of the treatise on the pronunciation of the *ḍād* to see what could be done with it. In the end we decided to incorporate the translation and the study in the collection of articles.

In this volume we therefore present a number of articles dealing with the structure of Classical Arabic, which have been already been published elsewhere. Although not directly related to Naphtali's work on the history of Arabic grammar, they all contain references to the grammatical tradition and show how he always attempted to link his own linguistic analyses to that of the Arab grammarians. Most of the articles deal with the syntax of Classical Arabic, but one article treats one aspect of the phonetic ideas of the grammarians, the

concepts of "high" and "low". This article ties in very well with the appendix containing the treatise on the *ḍād* in translation. Both articles and treatise are presented here as a memorial to Naphtali Kinberg.

Kees Versteegh
Batenburg, January 6, 2000


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1

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE COMBINATION *'N LAW* IN CLASSICAL ARABIC[1]

Classical Arabic often has the conditional clause of *law* preceded by *'n*. Different explanations have been offered for this usage by Arab grammarians and by Western grammarians. These explanations affect not only the meaning of this construction, but also the vocalisation of *'n*, namely *an* versus *in*.

In this article I would like to claim that this *'n* is the shortened form of *'nna* (*'n al-mukhaffafah*), and consequently should be vocalised *in* in initial position and *an* in other positions.

In analogy to Hebrew and Aramaic, W. Wright regards *'n law* as a combination of the conditional particles *in* and *law*, a combination equivalent to *illū* in Aramaic and Hebrew.[2] According to C. Brokelmann, the conditional particle *in* precedes the particle *law* in order to make a clearer distinction between a wish and a conditional clause.[3] This is probably in analogy to a similar process in Syriac, in which the particle *lū* is no longer conceived as a hypothetical conditional particle, unless preceded by the conditional particle *in* (*en*) in the form of *illū* (*ellū*).[4] W. Fischer on the other hand explains this combination as a means of expressing an absurd unreality. To illustrate this meaning he adduces the following example:

1. in law jā'aka ʿammu Mūsā musliman mā kunta ṣāniʿan bihi "Gesetzt den Fall, der Oheim von Moses käme zum Islam bekehrt zu dir, was würdest du dann mit ihm machen?"[5]

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[1] This article is an elaboration of a chapter from a dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D., under the supervision of Professors James A. Bellamy and Ernest N. McCarus (Co-Chairmen). I am greatly indebted to Prof. Bellamy and to Prof. Joshua Blau, who were so kind as to read the manuscript of this article and whose comments were incorporated in it. The present author, of course, bears sole responsibility for any inaccuracies or errors of judgement.

[2] *A grammar of the Arabic language*, Cambridge 1967, II, 348.

[3] *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908–13, II, 643 A, rem.

[4] Cf. E. Trumpp, "Der Bedingungssatz im Arabische", *SB Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Philos.-Philolog. Cl. (1881), 337–8.

[5] *Grammatik des Klassischen Arabisch*, Wiesbaden 1972, 205, § 453, 1.

But the unreality of this sentence is not necessarily implied by the conditional particles per se. It is rather implied by the context and the content of this specific sentence. Moreover, it should be noted that the combination *'n law* sometimes introduces conditions which are not less likely than other conditions introduced by *law* alone. It may even introduce a real condition:

2. wa-kāna yaʿidu Qurayshan 'n law qad laqiya qawmahu lam yakhtalif ʿalayhi minhum rajulāni
   And he promised Quraysh, that were he to meet his tribe, not even two of them would disagree with him.[6]

The explanation supplied by Wright and Brockelmann (which considers *'n* the conditional particle *in*) is contradicted by the examples found in the Qur'ān, for in all the cases found in the Qur'ān the first particle is vocalised *an* and never *in*:

3. awa-lam yahdi li-lladhīna yarithūna l-arḍa min baʿdi ahlihā an law nashā'u aṣabnāhum bi-dhunūbihim
   It is not clear to those who inherit the earth after its [previous] inhabitants that, did We will, We would strike them because of their sins?[7]
4. awa-lam yay'asi lladhīna āmanū an law yashā'u llāhu la-hadā n-nāsa jamīʿan
   Did not the believers know that, if God had willed, He would have guided all the people?[8]
5. fa-lammā kharra tabayyanati l-jinnu an law kānū yaʿlamūna l-gayba mā labithū fī l-ʿadhābi l-muhīni
   And when he fell down, the jinn found out that, had they known the divine secret, they would not have stayed in humiliating torment.[9]
6. wa-an lawi staqāmū ʿalā ṭ-ṭarīqati la-asqaynāhum mā'an gadaqan
   And if they were to take the right way, We would give them abundant water.[10]

Moreover, the Arab grammarians, as far as I am aware, do not mention the combination of the conditional particles *in* and *law*. Most of them follow the analysis of Sībawayhi, who mentions this usage only in the context of an oath, and considers it a redundant *an* which

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[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā et al., Cairo 1955, II, 67, 8.
[7] Qur'ān, VII, 99.
[8] Qur'ān, XIII, 31.
[9] Qur'ān, XXXIV, 14.
[10] Qur'ān, LXXII, 16.

is inserted between the oath and *law*, in the same way as *an* is sometimes inserted after *lammā*.[11] In another chapter, in a discussion of the oath, he compares the *an* of *an law* to the *la-* of *la-'in*,[12] apparently because both are inserted between the oath and the conditional particle. This view is followed by Zamakhsharī,[13] Baghdādī,[14] and Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī.[5] The latter rejects another explanation by Ibn ʿUṣfūr, who considers it as a particle used to connect the oath with its complement. He bases his rejection on the claim that this *an* of *an law* is generally missing, whereas particles connecting an oath with its complement are usually not omitted.[16] Western grammarians, except for M.S. Howell,[17] generally do not mention the explanation of the Arab grammarians. H. Reckendorf quotes an example adduced by Zamakhsharī, but for some reason he omits the oath which occurs in the original example.[18]

As mentioned above, most Arab grammarians accept the theory connecting *'n* to a preceding oath, apparently because this *'n* is quite frequently preceded by an oath:

7. amā innī aḥlifu bi-llāhi 'n law kānū akhwāla Abī l-Ḥakami mā ajābaka ilayhi abadan
   I swear by God, if they were the uncles of Abū l-Hakam, he would never agree to it.[19]
8. fawa-llāhi 'n law kāna lakum bi-ʿadadi shajari Tihāmata naʿaman la-qasamtuhu ʿalaykum
   By God, if you had cattle in the same number as the trees of Tihāmah, I would distribute it among you.[20]

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[11] Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān Sībawayhi, *Le livre de Sibawaihi*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1881, I, 424 (under *Bāb an wa-in*); G. Jahn, *Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik*, Berlin 1884–1900, II, 388, rem. 21.

[12] Cf. Sībawayhi, I, 404–5 (under *Bāb al-afʿāl fī l-qasam*).

[13] Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Ibn Jaʿīš, Commentar zu Zamachšarī's Mufaṣṣal*, ed. G. Jahn, Leipzig 1886, II, 1183.

[14] ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUmar al-Bagdādī, *Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-ʿArab*, Būlāq 1299, IV, 224–6, 531.

[15] Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, *Mugnī al-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., I, 33–4 (under *an al-maftūḥah al-mukhaffafah*).

[16] This passage from the *Mugnī al-labīb* is quoted by Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, London 1863–74, I, 106.

[17] *A grammar of the Classical Arabic language*, Allahabad 1880, II, 568–9.

[18] *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, 402, § 194. He adduces there the example: *amā an law qumta la-qumtu*, whereas the original example adduced by Zamakhsharī reads: *amā wa-llāhi an law qumta la-qumtu*.

[19] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 375, 8.

[20] Ibid., II, 492, 6.

9. amā wa-llāhi 'n law kunta mina l-muslimīna la-ʿaẓuma ʿalayka an talqā llāha bi-dimāʾinā
   By God, if you were a Muslim, it would be grievous for you to face God with our blood.[21]
10. wa-'aymu llāhi 'n law faʿalū la-dhaʿarū bunayyaka hādhā
    By God, if they had done (so), they would have terrified this little son of yours.[22]
11. amā wa-llāhi 'n law yaʿnī bi-dhālika l-imrata was-sulṭāna la-afṣaḥa lahum bi-dhālika
    By God, if by that he had meant authority and power, he would have indicated it to them explicitly.[23]
12. ji'tukum min ʿindi rajulin wa-llāhi 'n law lam ajid gayra baniyya hā'ulā'i la-jāhadtuhu bihim
    I have come to you from such a man, that if, by God, I were not to find anyone except those sons of mine, I would have fought against him with them.[24]
13. wala-ʿamrī 'n law samiʿū n-nāsa yaqūlūna . . . la-qad kāna dhālika muʿāraḍatan ṣaḥīḥatan wa-muwāzanatan maʿrūfatan
    By my life, if they were to hear people saying . . ., it would be a proper parallelism and a suitable comparison.[25]
14. wa-uqsimu 'n law-lā Qurayshun wamā maḍā
    ilayhā wa-kāna llāhu bil-ḥukmi aʿlamā
    la-kāna lanā man yalbasu l-layla minhumū
    wa-ḍaw'u n-nahāri min faṣīḥin wa-aʿjamā
    And I swear that but for Quraysh and what passed
    to them, and God knows better about the power,
    We would possess those of them who wear the night
    and the light of daytime, Arabs and non-Arabs.[26]

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[21] Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wal-mulūk*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1879–1901, II, I, 351, 9. Another version omits *'n*.

[22] Ṭabarī, II/2, 699, 12. Another version omits *'n*.

[23] Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau, Leiden 1917, V, 235, 17. The editor supplies the vocalisation *an*.

[24] Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVb, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 43, 22.

[25] ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1933, 153, 12.

[26] Hammām b. Gālib al-Farazdaq, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ismāʿīl al-Sāwī, Cairo 1936, 864, 2. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 349, 9; II, 403, 5; Ṭabarī, I/5, 2285, 8 (another version reads *'nna* instead of *'n*); I/5, 2436, 7; I/5, 2305, 16 (another version reads *'nna* instead of *'n*); II/1, 365, 15; II/2, 679, 4; II/2, 987, 14; II/3, 1369, 13; Balādhurī, IVb, 46, 14; Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad, *The Kāmil of El-Mubarrad*, ed. Wright, Leipzig 1882, II, 791, 5; Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1872, 350, 9 (the last two references are supplied by Ṭabarī, s.v. *in*, and G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer* by Ibn al-Anbārī, Leiden 1913, 113, n., respectively).

The theory adopted by most Arab grammarians takes into account the fact that *'n* is often preceded by an oath, but it disregards the many cases in which it is not preceded by an oath. In addition to the cases found in the Qur'ān (nos. 3–6 above), there are quite a few examples from other sources. In most of these cases (including those found in the Qur'ān) the conditional clause serves as the complement of verbs such as *ʿalima* "know"; *ẓanna* "think"; *rajā* "hope", etc., namely those verbs which take a complete clause as their complement. Consequently, in all these cases the conditional clause can be analysed as a syndetic complement, connected to its governing verb by the conjunction *an.* This usage of *an* is not irregular in Classical Arabic. It is considered a shortened form of *anna* (*an al-mukhaffafah*), used in the meaning of "that".[27] This is also the explanation adduced by commentators on the cases found in the Qur'ān,[28] and this is the analysis adopted by Ibn Mālik in his *Alfiyyah.*[29]

15. wa-ʿaraftu 'n law qadi ftuqidtu la-rujiʿa ilayya
    And I knew that if I were missed, they would come back to me.[30]
16. wa-llāhi la-qad ẓanantu 'n law kāna maʿa llāhi ilāhun gayruhu la-qad agnā ʿannī shay'an baʿdu
    By God, I thought that had there been another god with God, he would have helped me.[31]
17. innī arjū 'n law qad jahadū lā yuflitu minhum mukhbirun
    I hope that if they exert themselves strenuously, no informer would escape from them.[32]
18. wa-khashītu wa-llāhi 'n law ʿarafanī an yaḍurranī ʿinda s-sulṭāni
    And I feared, by God, that if he recognised me, he would do me harm in front of the ruler.[33]

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[27] Cf. Wright, II, 81–2.

[28] Cf. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn,* Beirut n.d., the commentary on Sūrah VII, 99; XIII, 33; XXXIV, 14; LXXII, 16. Cf. also Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl,* Calcutta 1859–60, the commentary on Sūrah VII, 100; XXXIV, 14; LXXII, 16.

[29] According to Ibn Mālik, *Sharḥ Ibn ʿUqayl li-Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik,* ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1850, 100, verses nos. 194–5, *law* is one of the particles (like negatives, *sa, qad,* etc.) which are used to separae between *an al-mukhaffafah* and the finite verb, since the latter cannot directly follow *an al-mukhaffafah.* Cf. also C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian,* London 1951, 172.

[30] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah,* II, 298, 10.

[31] Ibid., II, 403, 14.

[32] Ṭabarī, II/1, 55, 6.

[33] Ibid. II/1, 347, 5. The conditional clause is not governed by the oath, since the latter is interposed between the governing verb and the conditional clause.

19. wa-naḥnu narjū 'n law qad dakhalnāhā an yakūna man yatbaʿunā minhum akthara mimman yuqātilunā
And we hope that if we enter it (i.e., Khurāsān), those of them (i.e., its population) that will follow us will outnumber those that will fight us.[34]
20. fa-inna ẓannī bihim 'n law jā'ū . . . lam yaḥmilhum ʿalā amrin illā rakibūhu
For I think that if they should come . . ., they would commit anything that he would incite them to do.[35]
21. maʿa annī qad ʿaraftu 'n law qad ʿaraḍnā dhālika ʿalayhim lam yarḍaw fīhi illā bish-shaṭaṭi
Although I know that if we should suggest it to them, they would not be satisfied except with an excess.[36]
22. fa-taʿlamu 'n law kunta khayran ʿalayhim
kadhabta wa-akhzāka lladhī anta qā'iluh
And you know that if you should be good with them, you would lie, and what you are going to say would disgrace you.[37]
23. fa-ayqantu annī in na'aytuka lam yarid
biya n-na'yu illā kulla shay'in uḥādhiruh
wa-'n law rakibtu r-rīḥa thumma ṭalabtani
la-kuntu ka-shay'in adrakathu maqādiruh
And I was sure that if I were away from you, remoteness would only draw me near everything I guard against
And [I was sure] that if I were to ride the wind, and then you were to seek me, I would be like something overtaken by its fate.[38]

In the previous example *'n law* is governed by the verb *ayqantu* "I was sure", and is parallel to *annī in*. The phenomenon of a conditional clause which occurs as a complement of a verb is not irregular in Classical Arabic. Whereas *la-'in* clauses are generally connected asyndetically,[39] *in* clauses are connected syndetically by the conjunction *anna*,[40] as are *law* clauses.[41] In the following examples *law* clauses

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[34] Ṭabarī, II/2, 1105, 6.
[35] Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 120, 3.
[36] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, ed. L. Shaykhū, Beirut 1952, 161, 21.
[37] A.A. Bevan (ed.), *Kitāb al-Naqā'iḍ*, repr. Beirut n.d., 628, 11. The editor supplies the vocalisation *an*. The same verse occurs in Farazdaq, 742, 6.
[38] Farazdaq, 313, 8.
[39] For example, *wala-qad ʿalimtu laʿin ʿadadtu dhunūbahū an sawfa yazʿumu annahū lam yudhnibī*—And I knew, if I counted his sins, he will finally claim that he did not commit any offence (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah, *Sharḥ Dīwān ʿUmar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Majīd, Cairo 1960, 441, 10). For more examples, cf. N. Kinberg, "A study of *la'in* clauses in early literary Arabic", to be published in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, II, § 3.
[40] Cf. example no. 23 above; for an asyndetic *in*, cf. Trumpp, 383.
[41] Asyndetic *law* clauses like the following verse are extremely rare: *allāhu yaʿlamu*

are connected to their governing verbs by the conjunction *anna*, which is equivalent to the conjunction *an* in the examples 2–5 and 15–23 above:

24. fa-ʿalimtu annahu law qad furiga lahu qad ʿazalahu
    And I knew that if he were given leisure, he would remove him.[42]
25. wa-yukhbirūnahu annahum law qad raʿawhu mālū ilayhi bi-man tabiʿahum
    Informing him that if they should see him, they would turn to him with their followers.[43]
26. fa-uqaddiru annahu law kāna bayna yadayhi la-abṣarahu
    And I assume that had it been in front of him, he would have seen it.[44]
27. sayyidī yaʿlamu annī law kuntu kādhiban lam ajtariʾ ʿalā l-kalāmi ʿindahu bil-bāṭili
    My master knows that if I were a liar, I would not dare say false things in his presence.[45]
28. wa-innī la-arjū annahu law naẓara ilayka yaḍaʿu mā maʿahu min qawsihi wa-nushshābihi was-sulḥafāti wa-yasʿā ilayka
    And I hope that if he should notice you, he would lay down what he has with him, namely his bow and arrows and the turtle, and run towards you.[46]
29. iʿlam akramaka llāhu annaka law baḥathta ʿan aḥwāli man yuʾthiru sharba l-khumūri ʿalā l-anbidhati lam tajid illā jāhilan makhdhūlan
    Know, may God show regard to you, that if you were to investigate the situation of those who prefer drinking wine rather than non-intoxicating beverages, you would find (them to be) only ignorant and deserted people.[47]

In some cases *'n law* follows a noun or a noun phrase, and the conditional clause serves as an attribute or a predicate, connected by *an*:

30. afa-lam yakun lahum fī dhālika ʿibratun wa-bayyinatun 'n law kāna ilāhan kāna dhālika kulluhu ilayhi

law tanāwala dhimmatan minnā la-juzziʿa fī n-nuḥūri ʿawālī—God knows, if he were to receive protection from us, the points of the spears would be broken in the upper part of the chests (*Naqāʾiḍ*, 319, 5).

[42] Ṭabarī, II/2, 996, 1. Three other versions read *'n* instead of *annahu*! Cf. n. in Ṭabarī, loc. cit.

[43] Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, ed. S.D.F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936, 333, 12.

[44] Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 98, 21.

[45] *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, 127, 19.

[46] Ibid., 158, 15.

[47] Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, 281, 12. See also Ṭabarī, II/1, 164, 15; II/1, 506, 19; II/2, 692, 11; III/2, 904, 3: III/3, 1725, 1; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 275, 13; V, 78, 15; *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, 72, 1; 96, 3; 113, 11; 189, 7; 229, 18; Jāḥiẓ, 134, 1 n.b.; 257, 8 n.b.; *Naqāʾiḍ*, 978, 2.

Did not they thereby have a clear example and proof that if he were a god, all this would be to him (i.e., in his power)?[48]

31. wa-āyatu lu'mi t-Taymi 'n law ʿadadtumū aṣābiʿa Taymiyyin naqaṣna mina l-ʿashrī
And the sign of the niggardliness of Taym is that if you were to count the fingers of someone from Taym, they would be less than ten.[49]

In this context the conditional clause can also be connected by the conjunction *anna*:

32. wa-lākinna d-dalīla ʿalā anna aṣla khabarihim laysa ka-farʿihi anna ʿĪsā ʿalayhi s-salāmu law qāla innī ilāhun la-mā a ʿṭāhu Ilāhu taʿālā iḥyā'a 'l-mawtā wal-mashya ʿalā l-mā'i
But the proof that the origin of their story is not like its derivative is that if Jesus, peace be upon him, had said: "I am a god", God would not have given him (the ability) to revive the dead and to walk upon the water.[50]

Like *'n*, the particle *inna* also occurs when *law* is preceded by an oath, but in a different order, namely: "*inna* . . . oath *law*" versus: [oath *'n law*".

33. fa-innahu wa-llāhi law kāna mālī yasaʿu li-dhālika mā kaliftumūhu
For by God, if my wealth were sufficient for that, you would not take it upon yourselves.[51]

34. innahu wa-llāhi law kāna yuqālu nhazama Abū Ḥumrāna Ḥumayyiru bnu Bujayrini l-Hamdāniyyu mā bālaytu
By God, if people were to say: "Abū Ḥumrān Ḥumayyir b. Bujayr al-Hamdānī was deafeated", I would not mind.[52]

35. wa-innā wa-llāhi law kāna fī anfusinā gayru mā tanṭiqu bihi la-qulnāhu
And we, by God, if there were in our souls something which we do not say, we would say it.[53]

The conclusion from all this is that the *'n* of *'n law* is the shortened form of *inna/anna*. Consequently it should be vocalised *in* in initial position and after oaths, and *an* when not in initial position. Thus

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[48] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1, 578, 19.

[49] Ibn ʿAṭīyah al-Jarīr, *Sharḥ Dīwān Jarīr*, ed. al-Sāwī, Beirut 1934?, 214, 4.

[50] Jāḥiẓ, 131, 4 n.b.

[51] Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 1, 136, 3.

[52] Ṭabarī, II/1, 47, 14.

[53] Ibn Saʿd, I/1, 149, 19. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 145, 1; 533, 11; Ṭabarī, II/1, 54, 17; 110, 16; 182, 4; 183, 14; 236, 6; 431, 8; Ṭabarī, II/2, 1004, 9; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 200, 16; VII/1, 18,18. The particle *inna* is also frequent in initial position, in coordinated clauses, etc., where *'n law* is extremely rare.

in the examples nos. 1, 7–14 above the reading should be *in law*, whereas in the examples nos. 2–5,[54] 15–23, 30–1 above the reading should be *an law*.

Our interpretation explains the occurrence of *'n* between oaths and the conditional particle *law* on the one hand, and between certain governing elements (both verbal phrases and noun phrases) and their complementing conditional clause on the other hand. Hence it seems preferable to the interpretation adduced by Wright and Brokelmann (which considers it a combination of the conditional particles *in* and *law*), since their explanation does not account for the material found in the Qur'ān and is not attested by the Arab grammarians. Nor does it explain why this usage is so rare in Arabic, contrary to the position in other Semitic languages in which this usage turned out to be the primary, if not the only way to express the unreal condition. Our interpretation seems preferable also to the explanation adduced by Sībawayhi and his followers (which considers *an* analogous to the *la-* of *la-'in* after oaths), since the latter does not account for the numerous cases (including those in the Qur'ān) in which *'n law* is not preceded by an oath.

There are a few exceptions, however, which cannot be intepreted as *in/an al-mukhaffafah*. Most of the exceptions—noted below—are inverted or elliptic conditional clauses. Furthermore, most of them are derived from later sources and probably represent a stagnant usage of this structure. This is not surprising if one keeps in mind the diminishing usage of *'n al-mukhaffafah* in later sources. The stagnant usage of this structure can also account for the reading *an* supplied by Sībawayhi. He does not mention having relied upon oral informants, and most likely drew his conclusions from written unvowelled texts.

The vocalisation of *'n* in the following examples is not certain, because the function of *'n* is not clear. Yet the vocalisation *in* seems preferable, since the particle *'n* does not start a complement.

36. atamma l-ḥibā 'n law ajadda thiyābaka
er hätte die Geschenke voll gemacht, wenn er dir neue Kleider verschafft hätte.[55]

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[54] In example no. 6 *wa-an* occurs at the beginning of the verse where one would expect the reading *wa-in*. The commentary of Jalālayn explains it as coordinated to *ūḥiya ilayya annahu stamaʿa* in the first verse of the Sūrah.

[55] Reckendorf, 498, § 259, 6.

37. mā ẓanna Muḥammadun bi-rabbihi 'n law laqiya llāha wa-hād hihi 'indahu
wessen hätte sich M. von seinem Herrn zu versehen, wenn er mit diesem Gelde vor Gott träte.[56]
38. lā nusallimu luzūma dhālika wa-innamā yalzamu 'n law kāna kadhā
We do not concede the necessity of this, for it is necessary only if it be thus [and thus].[57]
39. at-tasalsulu innamā yalzamuhu 'n law ishtarakā fī wajhin ākhara
Succession would be indispensable for it only if they were to share another aspect.[58]
40. li-annahu innamā kānati l-mas'alatu tafsudu 'n law qulnā inna inna hiya l-'āmilatu fī l-khabari
Because the case would only be improper if we were to say that *inna* is governing the predicate of a nominal clause.[59]
41. wai-nnamā yastaqīmu hādhā l-kalāmu 'n law kāna t-tanwīnu min 'amali inna
This statement would only be right if nunation were governed by *inna*.[60]

In the following exception *'n law* introduces a concessive clause:

42. wa-laysa fīmā dhakarū 'n law ṣaddaqnāhum mā yuzīlu sh-shakka
And there is nothing in what they have mentioned—(even) if we were to believe them—which can remove the doubt.[61]

In the next exception, the combination *'n law* introduces a wish rather than a conditional clause, contrary to Brockelmann.[62]

43. yawaddu lahu l-kātibu 'n law kāna fī ṭayyi kitābihi
because of which [longing] the writer would fain be in the inside of his letter.[63]

Finally, there follow some notes concerning the distribution of *'n law*. This structure is more common in "Pre-Classical" texts than in "Classical" texts.[64] This is probably due to the diminishing usage of *'n al-mukhaffafah* in later texts.

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[56] Ibid. Cf. also Brockelmann, loc. cit.
[57] Wright, II, 348, § 189.
[58] Weil, loc. cit.
[59] Op. cit. 85, 20.
[60] Op. cit. 163, 8.
[61] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Āthār al-bāqiyah 'an al-qurūn al-khāliyah*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1923, 21, 8. This example occurs in Ṭabarī, s.v. *in*, CXXI.
[62] Cf. p. 49 above.
[63] Wright, loc. cit. It seems that the vocalisation here should be *an law*, since it initiates the complement of *yawaddu*.
[64] In the usage of these terms, I follow Fischer, pp. 1–3. According to his definition,

The combination *'n law* is also rare in Middle Arabic: this is true of Judaeo-Arabic[65] and even more so of Christian Arabic.[66] The latter does exhibit, however, the conditional particle *illaw*,[67] formed by the combination *in* + *law*. This is not surprising if one keeps in mind the influence of living Aramaic upon Christian Arabic texts.[68] In Classical Arabic, *illaw* is extremely rare. The only case I have encountered is the one adduced by Reckendorf from Bayhaqī:

44. thumma taḥuththu Muʿāwiyata ʿalā qatlī illaw rāma dhālika maʿaka la-dhubiḥa ka-mā dhubiḥa bnu ʿAffān
And you incite Muʿāwiyah to kill me. If he were to will to do it with you, he would be murdered as [ʿUthmān] b. ʿAffān was murdered.[69]

Yet even this case is not certain, for another version reads *wa-law* instead of *illaw*, and this is the version adopted by the Beirut edition.[70] Although one might prefer the reading *illaw*, since it is the more difficult one, the reading *wa-law*, forming a coordinated clause, better fits the context.

As to the distribution of *'n law* in prose and poetry, it is interesting to note that it is much more common in prose than in poetry.[71] This is to be explained by the fact that Arabic poetry uses asyndetic constructions much more than Arabic prose, a phenomenon which is also reflected by the less common usage of *inna/anna* to connect *law* clauses with their governing verbs.

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the "Pre-Classical" period is the one prior to the "Golden Age" of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, eighth-ninth centuries A.D., in which the ʿArabiyya was consolidated by the work of Muslim philologists.

[65] Cf. J. Blau, *A grammar of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem 1961, 253, § 399. Both cases there can be interpreted, as noted by the author, as *an al-mukhaffafah*.

[66] Cf. idem, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on south-Palestinian texts from the first millennium*, CSCO, Subsidia 27–9, Louvain 1966–7, III, 595, § 486.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Idem, "Marginalia Semitica I", *IOS*, 1 (1971), 13–14. Even in Christian Arabic, *illaw* was probably conceived of as irregular. This is shown by the fact that other versions read *law* instead of *illaw* (cf. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, loc. cit.). On the other hand, *illaw* is not attested in Judaeo-Arabic, which was not exposed to the influence of living Aramaic.

[69] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wal-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 88, 11, cited in Reckendorf, loc. cit.

[70] Beirut 1960, 85, 1 n.b.

[71] In the corpus of this study, it occurs 39 times in prose versus 5 times in poetry, although the two genres were equally represented in our work (our complete corpus contains 1506 cases of *law* clauses in prose versus 1490 in poetry).

2

NOTES ON THE SHIFT FROM ACCUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS TO PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES IN HEBREW AND ARABIC

In an article published in the early sixties, M. Bogaert shows certain groups of verbs which in Biblical Hebrew (as well as in other north-western Semitic languages) may govern verbal suffixes instead of "dative" prepositions. This phenomenon is called by him "non-accusative verbal suffixes".[1]

In his article "*ʾet* = *ʾel* 'to, towards' in Biblical Hebrew", S. Izreʾel argues that the particle *ʾet* sometimes occurs in contexts that elsewhere require the prepositions *ʾel* "to, towards" or *ʿim* "with". He concludes that *ʾet* is a preposition which in Modern Hebrew may be rendered by *ʿim* or *ʾel*, similar to the Hebrew preposition *bə-* which is sometimes translated into English as "in" and at other times as "at", according to the context.[2]

In the following pages I would like to suggest another interpretation which considers examples of the kind adduced by the above-mentioned authors as an archaic phenomenon of accusative constructions which, in later layers of the language, were replaced by prepositional phrases. This phenomenon reflects the shift from a synthetic to a more analytic type of language, a process characteristic of the Semitic languages.

For this purpose I would like to show some examples manifesting how direct objects and adverbial complements, which in Classical Arabic and Biblical Hebrew are often rendered by the accusative, are subsequently replaced by prepositional phrases. Finally, I would like to show how biblical verses of the kind adduced by Bogaert and Izreʾel can be better explained as accusative constructions, in equivalence to Arabic which also uses the accusative case-ending after verbs of that kind.

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[1] M. Bogaert, "Les suffixes verbaux non accusatifs dans le sémitique nord-occidental et particulièrement en hébreu", *Biblica*, XLV, 1964, 220–47.

[2] S. Izreʾel, "*ʾet* = *ʾel* 'to, towards' in Biblical Hebrew", *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, III, 1978, 204–12 [in Hebrew].

As is well known, Biblical Hebrew quite often uses asyndetic adverbial complements of time, manner or cause. In other cases these adverbials may be rendered by the prepositions *bə-* "in, at", *lə-* "to", *ʾel* "to, towards", *biglal* "because of", *kə-* "as", e.g.:

1. *wa-y-yizʿaq ha-m-melekh qōl gādōl*
   and the king cried with a loud voice[3]
2. *shəvī ʾalmānā bhēt ʾābhīkh*
   sit as a widow at your father's house[4]
3. *wə-hū yōshēbh petaḥ hā-ʾōhel*
   while he was sitting at the tent door[5]
4. *wə-hemmā humtū bīmē qāṣīr bā-rīshōnīm təḥillat qəṣīr śəʿōrīm*
   and they were killed in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of barley harvest[6]
5. *wa-y-yiqrā ʾaryē*
   and he cried as a lion[7]
6. *wa-y-yeṣəʾū shənēhem ha-ś-śādē*
   and both of them went out into the field[8]
7. *lālekhet tarshīsh*
   to go to Tarshish[9]
8. *lō tābhō shāmmā yirʾat shāmīr wā-shāyit*
   you will not come there because of the fear of briers and thorns[10]

When the adverbial complement is definite, it may be preceded by the accusative particle *ʾet*, even in contexts where one would rather expect the prepositions *bə-* "in" or *min* "from":

9. *maṣṣōt yēʾākhel ʾet shibhʿat ha-y-yāmīm*
   unleavened bread should be eaten throughout the seven days[11]
10. *raq lə-ʿēt ziqnātō ḥālā ʾet raglāw*
    only in his old age was he diseased in his feet[12]
11. *wə-ʾet ḥuqqōtay lō hāləkhū bhāhem*
    and they did not walk in my statutes[13]

[3] 2 Sam. 19:5. For the following examples (and many others) cf. E. Kautzch, *Gesenius Hebrew grammar*, transl. by A.E. Cowley, Oxford, 1910 (repr. 1976), § 118, and P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome, 1947, § 126.

[4] Gen. 38:11.

[5] Ibid., 18:1.

[6] 2 Sam. 21:9.

[7] Is. 21:8.

[8] 1 Sam. 20:11.

[9] 2 Chron. 20:36.

[10] Is. 7:25.

[11] Exod. 13:7.

[12] 1 Kings 15:23. Note the significant version in 2 Chron. 16:12: *wa-y-yeḥēle āsā* ... *bə-raglāw* "And Asa was diseased ... in his feet", which uses the preposition *bə-* instead of *ʾet*.

[13] Literally: "and my statutes they did not walk in them". Ezek. 20:16.

12. *hēm yāṣəʾū ʾet hā-ʿīr*
    they went out of the city[14]

Alongside archaisms of accusative constructions, such as those seen above, Biblical Hebrew is also known to replace the accusative with prepositional phrases.[15] This process is not confined to adverbial complements alone but is also applied to direct objects, as is shown by the usage of the prepositions *lə-* "to" and *bə-* "in, with" before direct objects (especially in the later books of the Bible).[16]

13. *ʾattā yādaʿtā lə-ʾiwwaltī*
    you know my foolishness[17]
14. *kī le-ʾěwīl yahărog kāʿaś*
    for wrath kills the foolish man[18]
15. *wa-y-yārem ba-m-maṭṭe*
    and he lifted the rod[19]
16. *pāʿărū ʿālay bə-fīhem*
    they have gaped their mouth upon me[20]

Mishnaic Hebrew uses the particle *ʾet* less frequently than Biblical Hebrew, sometimes employing the prepositions *lə-* "to", *bə-* "in, with" and *ʿal* "on" instead:[21]

17. *ha-m-məqanne lə-ʾishtō*
    one who suspects his wife
18. *nōṭəlīn la-y-yādayim*
    one washes his hands
19. *ṣāram bə-ʾoznō*
    he cut (or pulled) his ear
20. *tālash bi-śʿārō*
    he plucked his hair
21. *kəlī ḥeres maṣṣīl ʿal ha-k-kōl*
    a clay vessel protects everything
22. *hishbīʿa ʿălēhen*
    he adjured them

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[14] Gen. 44:4. In other cases *yāṣā* governs the preposition *min* "from", e.g. 1 Kings 11:29: *wə-yārobhʿām yāṣā mīrūshālaim* "and Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem". For the usage of the verb *yāṣā* with pronominal suffixes cf. Bogaert, 240.

[15] Cf. *Gesenius*, p. 366, n. 2.

[16] Cf. Joüon, 371.

[17] Ps. 69:6.

[18] Job 5:2.

[19] Exod. 7:20.

[20] Job 16:10. The last four examples (and many others) are adduced by Joüon, § 125 k, m.

[21] Cf. M.H. Segal, *A grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford, 1970, §§ 351, 360, 361, 363. I have chosen examples 17–22 below out of these sections.

The claim that *ʾet* represents the accusative which was later substituted by prepositional phrases is supported by a similar process in Arabic. The latter expresses the accusative by a case-ending rather than a particle equivalent to *ʾet*. Yet, while Classical Arabic uses the accusative in constructions similar to those which in Biblical Hebrew require verbal suffixes or the particle *ʾet*, later layers of the language tend to replace the accusative by prepositional phrases. This tendency is manifested by the replacement of asyndetic adverbial complements and direct objects by prepositional phrases. This phenomenon was recognized by the Arab grammarians who called it *ʾittisāʿ* or *tawassuʿ* "extension".[22]

Arabic grammars adduce quite a few examples of direct objects in the accusative which are used interchangeably with indirect objects introduced by prepositions.[23] In those examples the accusative is substituted with the prepositions *li-* "to", *ʾilā* "to, towards", *fī* "in", *ʿalā* "on", *ʿan* "off, from about", *min* "from", *maʿa* "with", and *bi-* "in, with, by".[24]

This phenomenon is also attested in Middle Arabic. Thus Christian Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic employ the preposition *bi-* instead of the accusative,[25] and Judaeo-Arabic even uses the preposition *ʾilā* with verbs which in Classical Arabic govern the accusative.[26] In equivalence to Aramaic Hebrew and Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic extensively introduces the direct object by the preposition *li-*.[27]

Moreover, in accord with its analytic trend, Arabic increasingly uses adverbial complements introduced by prepositions rather than accusative adverbial complements. This phenomenon is attested in Classical Arabic but is more common in Middle Arabic and Modern Literary Arabic (the latter tending to use prepositional phrases even

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[22] Cf. W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, Cambridge, 1967, II, 191, rem. e. The explanation there implies that the prepositional phrase is the origin, and the accusative is a derivative form, which historically is not accurate.

[23] Ibid.

[24] For more details cf. also Wright, II, 159–60; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg, 1921, 236–7.

[25] Cf. J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on south-Palestinian texts from the first millennium*, CSCO, Subsidia 27–9, Louvain, 1966–7, II, 411, § 301.2; *idem*, *A grammar of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*, Jerusalem, 1961, 178, § 266, d.

[26] Ibid., 177, § 265 c.

[27] Cf. ibid., 179–80, § 269. *Idem*, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, 413–19, § 305.1 and the literature listed on p. 413, n. 15.

more often than the accusative).[28] Classical Arabic, for example, shows the usage of the prepositions *fī* and *li-* in adverbial complements of time, and the preposition *bi-* in adverbial complements of manner:

23. *yakūnu dhālika fī ghadin*
let it be tomorrow[29]
24. *māta li-yawmihi*
he died on that same day[30]
25. *qatalahu bi-s-sayfi*
he slew him with the sword[31]
26. *hattā fu'ādī mithlu -l-xazzi fī -l-līni*
until my heart was as soft as silk[32]

Middle Arabic uses the prepositions *bi-* "in, at, with", *ka-* "as" and *li-* "to" instead of accusative adverbial complements, e.g.: *bi-yaqīnin* "certainly"; *bi-l-liḍṭirāri* "needs"; *ka-l-mahdi* "as cradle"; *li-l-yawmi -l-'āxari* "on the next day"; *li-zamānin qalīlin* "for a short time", etc.[33] This phenomenon is especially common in Modern Literary Arabic. Thus according to V. Monteil, adverbial complements are often introduced by the prepositions *bi, fī* and *'alā*.[34] To these prepositions one may add *li-*:

27. *wa-jā'a marratan li-waḥdihi*
and he came once by himself[35]

The preposition *bi-* may also introduce an adverbial complement of cause:

28. *wa-bi-xawfī 'alayhi qultu lahu*
and because of my fear for him I told him[36]

The common development in Hebrew and Arabic illustrated above gives us a better insight into some problematic verses in Biblical Hebrew where *'et* occurs instead of the more commonly used prepositions.

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[28] Cf. the statistics adduced by V. Monteil, *L'arabe moderne* (Études Arabes et Islamiques: Études et documents, III), Paris, 1960, 258.
[29] A. Ṣāliḥānī (ed.), *Rannāt al-mathālith wa-l-mathānī fī riwāyāt al-'aghānī*, Beirut, 1357/1938, I, 3, 3 n.b.
[30] Wright, II, 151.
[31] Ibid., 160 (*c*).
[32] Reckendorf, 244, § 133.3. In this usage the prepositional phrase introduced by *fī* takes the place of the "accusative of specification" (*tamyīz*).
[33] Cf. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, §§ 301.1, 304 and 305.3 respectively.
[34] Monteil, 256–7.
[35] Jamāl Bannūrah, *al-'Awdah*, Jerusalem, 1976, 25, 2.
[36] Ibid., 25, 5 n.b.

The following examples, in which Arabic uses the accusative after verbs such as *ʾatā, jāʾa* "come", *qadima* "arrive at" and even *dhahaba* "go",[37] explain the biblical usage of *ʾet* after verbs such as *bā* "come" and *niggash* "approach, draw near".[38] Note that these verbs can be followed not only by pronominal verbal suffixes, but also by substantive complements.[39]

29. *fa-ʾin jāʾanā rasūlu -l-xalīfati*
    and if the Caliph's messenger comes to us[40]
30. *thumma tashawwaqtuhu fa-ʾataytuhu*
    then I missed him and I came to him[41]
31. *axbara ḥammād . . . annahu ʾatā ʾabāhu*
    Ḥammād told that he came to his father[42]
32. *fa-xaraja min makkata ḥattā ʾatā -l-baṣrata*
    and he went out of Mecca until he came to al-Basra[43]
33. *fa-jiʾnā bna jāmiʿin*
    and we came to Ibn Jāmiʿ[44]
34. *matā qadimta hādhihi -l-bilāda*
    when did you arrive at this country?[45]
35. *dhahabtu -sh-shaʾma*
    I went to Syria[46]

Verbs expressing the meaning "speak, talk, say" may govern the object of the person without a preposition. Thus the verbs *ʾāmar* "say", *dibbēr* "speak", *higgīd* "tell" may be constructed with verbal pronominal suffixes,[47] e.g.:

36. *shəʾal ʾābhīkhā wə-yaggēdkhā*
    ask your father and he will tell you[48]

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[37] Cf. Wright, II, 46 rem. b, and p. 111, note.
[38] Cf. S. Izreʾel, 209, examples 1–5 (1 Sam. 9:18; 1 Sam. 30:21; Num. 4:19; Judges 19:18; Ezek. 21:25 respectively). Example 5 there contradicts the statement in Joüon, 366 (cited in Bogaert, 239) that the verb *bōʾ* "come" governs only pronominal suffix accusatives and not substantive accusatives.
[39] Contrary to Bogaert, 239, c, 1. Examples 1–5 adduced by Izreʾel show that these verbs may govern accusative substantives in Hebrew too.
[40] *Riwāyāt al-ʾaghānī*, 2, 7.
[41] Ibid., 4, 1 n.b.
[42] Ibid., 1, 1.
[43] Ibid., 10, 1.
[44] Ibid., 2, 2.
[45] P.L. Cheikho (ed.), *La version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah*, Beirut, 1923, 64, 7 n.b.
[46] Wright, II, 111, note.
[47] Cf. Bogaert, 229–30.
[48] Deut. 32:7.

These verbs can also be constructed with substantive complements preceded by *ʾet*,[49] e.g.:

37. *haggēd ʾet bēt yiśrāʾēl ʾet ha-b-bayit*
    tell the house of Israel about the house[50]
38. *ʾet mī higgadtā millīn*
    To whom have you spoken words?[51]

Arabic also uses accusative pronominal suffixes and accusative substantives with the verb *kallama* "talk to", e.g.:

39. *fa-lammā kallamahu qāla*
    and when he talked to him he said[52]
40. *ʾāyatuka ʾallā tukallima -n-nāsa*
    your sign is that you will not speak to people[53]

Hence it does not seem necessary to regard the particle *ʾet* in these cases as marking the dative instead of the accusative;[54] nor is it cogent to consider the verbal suffixes attached to these verbs as "dative" suffixes.

The unusual structure *wə-horʾā [ha-n-negaʿ] ʾet ha-k-kōhēn* "and the plague will be shown to the priest"[55] is also better understood when compared with the Arabic parallel construction. When a verb governing the accusative of the person and the accusative of the "thing" occurs in the passive, Arabic tends to change the accusative of the person into the nominative, while the other object remains in the accusative "because the person is of greater importance than the thing".[56] This tendency probably explains by Joüon would rather have expected the structure *wə-horʾā ʾotō ha-k-kōhēn* "and the priest will be shown it (i.e. the plague)", a structure in which the person serves as the grammatical subject, rather than the actual structure of the biblical verse.[57] Yet a structure like the one we are dealing with, in which the

[49] Cf. Izre'el, 210, examples 10, 12.
[50] Ezek. 43:10.
[51] Job 26:4. Izre'el adduces also the verse: *kī nitʿabh dəbhar ha-m-melekh ʾet yōʾābh* "for the king's word was abominable to Jo'ab" (1 Chron. 21:6, adduced in Izre'el, 210, example 10). The author also cites the verse of Gen. 43:32, which shows that *ʾet* is interchangeable with *lə-*, and may be governed by the verb *nitʿabh* (and not by *dəbhar*, as implied by n. 25 there).
[52] Qur'ān, 12:54.
[53] Qur'ān, 3:41.
[54] Cf. Izre'el, 210, 1 n.b.
[55] Lev. 13:49. Cf. also Izre'el, 210, example 11.
[56] Cf. Wright, II, 53, § 25, rem. a.
[57] Joüon, 385, § 128 c, cited in Izre'el, 210, n. 26.

accusative of the "thing" occurs as the grammatical subject and the accusative of the person remains in the accusative, is also admissible in Arabic. Thus along with the structure *ʾuʿṭiya zaydun dirhaman* "Zayd was given a dirhem", one finds the structure *ʾuʿṭiya dirhamun zaydan* "a dirhem was given to Zayd" (although the first structure is considered better).[58] In our verse the word *negaʿ* "plague" is the "known" element or the psychological subject. Therefore it is not surprising that it occurs as the grammatical subject of the passive verb, whereas the "new" element, namely *ha-k-kōhēn* "the priest", appears in the accusative. Hence it does not seem necessary to consider the *ʾet* as *ʾel*.[59]

The Arabic structure after the verb *ʾaʿṭā* "give" explains the unusual construction *wə-nātattī ʾōtām . . . ʾet ʿēṣ yəhūdā* "and I shall put them . . . with the tree of Judah".[60] The verb *nātattī* there governs two accusatives, as it does in other biblical verses, and as does the Arabic parallel verb *ʾaʿṭā*.[61] Here, too, the particle *ʾet* does not necessarily stand for *ʾel*.[62]

Moreover, Arabic can also explain the occurrence of *ʾet* in verses such as *ʾăsher ʿāmad shām ʾet pənē YHWH* "where he stood before the Lord".[63] Here, too, the accusative is used as an adverbial complement of place, in equivalence to the Arabic usage of the accusative after verbs conveying the idea of staying in a place,[64] e.g.:

41. *jalastu makāna zaydin*
    I sat down in Zeid's place[65]
42. *wa-baqīnā makānanā*
    and we stayed in our place[66]

In the previous pages I have shown a parallel process in Hebrew and Arabic, a process which involves the substitution of the accusative by prepositional phrases; this is due to the more analytic trend of both languages in later periods. This also accounts for the cases

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[58] Cf. Reckendorf, 90, § 51.5.
[59] Cf. Izre'el, 210, example 11.
[60] Ezek. 37:19, adduced by Izre'el, 209, example 6.
[61] Cf. H. Ben-Shammai, "*yittnēnī* = *yittēn lī*", *Lĕšonénu*, XXXV, 1970, 311–12 [in Hebrew]. Cf. also Bogaert, 234–5, cited in Ben-Shammai, 312. For a similar structure of the verbs *śīm, shīt* "put", cf. Bogaert, 235.
[62] Cf. Izre'el, 209, example 6 and n. 21.
[63] Gen. 19:27, adduced by Izre'el, 211.
[64] Wright, II, 111, rem. a.
[65] Loc. cit.
[66] *al-Hilāl*, VI, 1973, 22, col. 1, l. 6.

adduced by M. Bogaert of verbal suffixes used instead of prepositional phrases—as indeed it does for the cases cited by S. Izre'el of *ʾet* used instead of *ʾel*.

In Arabic the accusative is marked by a case-ending rather than by a particle such as the Hebrew *ʾet*. Yet Arabic uses the accusative in contexts similar to those in which Hebrew uses the particle *ʾet* or verbal pronominal suffixes. Hence it does not seem necessary to assume that the Hebrew usage of *ʾet* and of verbal suffixes represents the "dative" rather than the accusative. One should instead say that the accusative structure in Hebrew and Arabic may render both the accusative and dative of other languages (as well as of later layers of Hebrew and Arabic themselves).

This interpretation seems more plausible than the assumption that *ʾet* represents a more general preposition which later split into more specific prepositions, since that argument entails a further assumption that a single preposition *ʾet* was later separated into such different prepositions as *ʿim* "with", *ʾel* "to, towards", *bə-* "in, at", *min* "from", etc., a phenomenon not attested in other languages known to me. Moreover, this interpretation fails to explain the similar process in Arabic which does not possess a particle equivalent to *ʾet*.

3

A STUDY OF *LA-ʾIN* CLAUSES IN EARLY LITERARY ARABIC

Literary Arabic has relatively many types of conditional clauses with various semantic and syntactic distinctions. Different types of conditional clauses are represented by the usage of different conditional particles.

On the semantic level one distinguishes between "uncertainty of validity"[1] concerning the condition (which is expressed by the particle *in*—"if"), certainty of validity (which is expressed by *idhā*—"whenever"), emotional assertion (which is expressed by *la-ʾin*—"verily if") and unreal or unlikely condition (which is expressed by *law*—"if one were to . . ., if one should . . .").

On the syntactic level one distinguishes between particles which govern the jussive (*adawāt jāzimah*) such as *in*, and particles which do not govern the jussive (*adawāt ghayr jāzimah*) such as *idhā*, *la-ʾin* and *law*. As to the apodoses, *in* and *idhā* generally take the perfect, jussive or *fa-*, whereas *law* and *la-ʾin* generally take neither the jussive nor *fa-*.

As one might expect, this situation gives rise to some confusion between the various types of conditional clauses. This confusion is both on the semantic and syntactic levels. Thus in many cases the particles *in* and *idhā* are used interchangeably.[2] In some cases the distinction between *in* and *law* as real and unreal conditions is lost.[3]

In contrast to the semantic confusion, the syntactic distinctions are generally observed, with only rare exceptions. As one might expect, the less common conditionals assimilate to the more common ones. Thus *law* clauses sometimes follow the pattern of *in* clauses, e.g. "*law* jussive";[4] *fa-* in the apodosis,[5] etc.[6]

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[1] In the usage of this term I follow Beeston, p. 104.

[2] See Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.*, pp. 682–686, and Beeston, p. 104 for Standard Arabic.

[3] See Trumpp, p. 344 and Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 254 par. 400.

[4] Trumpp, p. 351.

[5] Ibid., p. 355, Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 191 par. 303.

[6] It might well be the case also with the structure "*lam* jussive" in the apodoses of *law*. This structure is never found in the Qur'ān in the apodoses of *law*, but is rather common in later sources.

In this study I should like to show some irregularities in the usage of one type of conditional clauses, namely *la-ʾin* clauses. This type of conditional clause is rightly distinguished by the Arab grammarians from *in* clauses. According to their explanations the *la-* of *la-ʾin* (*al-lām al muwaṭṭiʾah lil qasam*—"the *la-* that smooths the way for the oath")[7] represents an oath, and the clause which follows the protasis corresponds in its structure to the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) rather than to the apodosis of the conditional clause.[8] Thus the protasis is generally followed by one of the structures which follow the oath, namely "*la-qad* perfect"; "*la-* energetic"; "*la-* nominal clause"; "*inna . . . la- . . .*"; "*mā* perfect"; "*mā* indicative"; "*mā* nominal clause"; "*lā* indicative"; "*lā* perfect", "*in* perfect", etc.[9]

In contrast to the Arab grammarians who recognize this basic difference between *la-ʾin* and *in* clauses, Western grammarians are not always aware of it. General grammars of Literary Arabic usually do not deal separately with these conditional clauses, but rather tend to include the discussion of *la-ʾin* in the general discussion of *in* clauses, with no clear distinction.[10] Consequently some difficulty might arise when the structure of *la-ʾin* differs from that of *in* clauses.[11] A special discussion of *la-ʾin* clauses is found in the works of Trumpp and Tietz. Both mention the relationship of the apodoses of *la-ʾin* to the complement of the oath.[12] Both Trumpp and Tietz mention another characteristic of *la-ʾin* clauses which is related to the protases, namely that *la-ʾin* is followed by the perfect form of the verb and not by the jussive (except in negations).[13]

In this study I will deal only with cases in which *la-ʾin* clauses do not follow the regular patterns mentioned above. Most of them result

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[7] Wright I, p. 283.

[8] See Sībawayhi I, p. 395.

[9] See Wright II, pp. 175–6 concerning the complement of the oath, and Trumpp, pp. 386–7. The latter also adduces the possibility والله لا زيدٌ قائمٌ in which the negative particle *lā* negates a nominal clause. This seems to be inaccurate, for one would expect to find the negative *mā* after an oath (see Wehr, p. 32).

[10] This includes the works of Wright, Reckendorf and Fischer.

[11] See for instance the footnote in Wright II, p. 15, which considers as irregular the Qurʾānic verse 2, 140 (145 in the Egyptian edition), in which the apodosis starts with "*mā* perfect". Following the general pattern of *in* clauses Wright would expect to find the structure there "*lam* jussive". This is to be rejected. As noted by Wehr (p. 32) this negative does not occur in the complement of the oath, and it does not occur in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* either. Moreover, the structure "*mā* perfect" is not uncommon in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* (see for instance *Jarīr* 60, 3; *Farazdaq* 362, 9; *Ṭabarī II, 1* 512, 12; *Ṭabarī II, 3* 1748, 5).

[12] Trumpp, pp. 386–9; Tietz, p. 35.

[13] Trumpp, pp. 388–9; Tietz, p. 35.

from the loss of distinction between *la-'in* and *in* clauses. Some of them might result from copying mistakes which caused a confusion between *la-'in*, *wa-'in* and *fa-'in*.

Very often deviations from the normative rules of Literary Arabic are attributed to post-classical changes. As shown by Blau, deviations of this kind occur already in the work of al-Jāḥiẓ, who is considered the representative of Classical Prose Arabic.[14] As to *la-'in* clauses, deviations from the normative rules occur as early as in the poetry of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah (d. 100/719), in the poetry of Jarīr and Farazdaq (both d. 110/728), in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām (the core of which was composed by Ibn Isḥāq, d. 151/768) and other early sources, that is to say in what Fischer calls "Pre-Classical Arabic".[15]

The following corpus of sources has been used for this study:

Abū l-'Atāhiyah, Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim. *Dīwān Abī l-'Atāhiyah.* Beirut, 1964.

Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥasan b. Hāni'. *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ghazzālī. Beirut, 1966.

Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf.* Vol. IV B, ed. Max Schloessinger. Jerusalem, 1938. Vol. V, ed. S.D.F. Goitein. Jerusalem, 1936.

Farazdaq, Hammān b. Ghālib. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Ismā'īl al-Ṣāwī. Cairo, 1936.

Hudhaliyyīn, al-Sukkarī, Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn. *Kitāb Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn.* Cairo, 1963.

Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh. *al-Adab al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḍar Abū l-Muḥāsin al-Qāwuqjī. Cairo, 1945.

Idem. *al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā. Alexandria, 1911.

Idem. *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, ed. Louis Shaykhū. Beirut, 1952.

Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vols. I, II, III, V, VII, ed. Eduard Sachau. Leiden, 1917.

Jāḥiẓ, 'Amr b. Baḥr. *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī. Cairo, 1933.

Jamīl, *Dīwān Jamīl Shā'ir al-Ḥubb al-'Udhrī*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār. Cairo, 1967.

Jarīr, Ibn 'Aṭīyah. *Sharḥ Dīwān Jarīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāwī. Beirut, 1934(?).

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[14] J. Blau, "Syntactic phenomena in Classical Arabic", pp. 277–298.

[15] He defines it as the period prior to the "Golden Age" of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, 8th–9th centuries A.D., in which the 'Arabiyyah was consolidated by the work of Muslim philologists (W. Fischer, pp. 1–3).

Muʿallaqāt, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zawzanī. *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaqāt al-Sabʿ*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥamd Allāh. Damascus, 1963.
Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad. *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Charles J. Lyall. Oxford, 1921.
Naqāʾiḍ, *Kitāb al-Naqāʾiḍ*, ed. A.A. Bevan. 1905; rpt. Beirut, n.d.
Qurʾān. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Beirut, n.d.
Quṭāmī, ʿUmayr b. Shujaym. *Dîwân des ʿUmeir ibn Shujeim Al-Quṭâmî*, ed. J. Barth. Leiden, 1902.
Shantamarī, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān al-Aʿlam. *Ashʿār al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Sittah al-Jāhiliyyīn*. Cairo, 1963.
Sīrah, Ibn Hishām. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqā and others. Cairo, 1955.
Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr. *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk*, Vols. II 1, II 2, II 3, III 1, III 2, III 3, III 4. Leiden, 1879–1901.
ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah. *Sharḥ Dīwān ʿUmar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Majīd. Cairo, 1960.

This study includes also occasional examples from the following sources:

Aghānī, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī. *al-Aghānī*, ed. Ṣalāḥ Yūsuf al-Khalīl. Būlāq n.d.; rpt. Beirut, 1970.
Mutanabbī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barqūqī. Cairo, 1938.
Riwāyāt al-Aghānī, Ṣālaḥānī Anṭūn (ed.). *Rannāt al-Mathālith wal-Mathānī fī Riwāyāt al-Aghānī*, Vol. 1. Beirut, 1938.
ʿUyūn al-Akhbār, Ibn Qutaybah, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh. *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, Vol. 2. Cairo, 1928.

1. *Deviations in the Apodoses*

According to the Arab grammarians the clause which follows the protasis of *la-ʾin* is the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) which actually precedes *la-ʾin* or is represented by *la-* forming the first part of *la-ʾin*. According to this view the clause after *la-ʾin* should not follow the pattern of the apodosis of *in* and other conditional clauses, but rather the pattern of the complement of the oath.

All the texts of our corpus contain exceptions to this rule, some more, and some less. The following deviations were found in the apodoses of *la-ʾin*:

a. la-ʾin . . . fa-
b. la-ʾin . . . inna . . . (—) la-
c. la-ʾin . . . perfect
d. la-ʾin . . . la- perfect
e. la-ʾin . . . la- indicative
f. la-ʾin . . . la-qad indicative
g. la-ʾin . . . jussive
h. la-ʾin . . . mā jussive
i. la-ʾin . . . lā jussive
j. la-ʾin . . . lam jussive
k. la-ʾin . . . la-mā perfect
l. la-ʾin . . . idhan

a. The most common deviation is the usage of *fa-* (*fāʾ al-ilghāʾ*, or as others call it *fāʾ rābiṭah li-jawāb al-sharṭ*). This *fā-* occurs in the same environment as in the apodoses of *in, idhā* and other conditional clauses, namely before a nominal clause, before the imperative, *qad, sawfa* etc. This deviation occurs in early poetry and prose, but never in the Qurʾān.[16]

والله لئن جاءت الأعاجم بالأعمال وجئنا بغير عمل فهم أولى بمحمّد مِنّا يومَ القيامة

By God, if the non-Arabs bring forward with them (pious) deeds, and we bring forward no (pious) deed, they will be worthier of Muḥammad than we on the day of resurrection

(Ibn Saʿd III 1, 213, 2)

وَلَئِنْ نَجَوْتَ فَإِنَّمَا هِيَ رَحْمَةُ آلْ
مَلِكِ آلرَّحِيمِ وَإِنْ هَلَكْتَ فَبِآلْجَزَا

And if you be saved, it is only the mercy of
the Merciful Lord, and if you die, it is by requital

(Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah 27, 3)

فلعمري لئن كنّا انّما نقاتل الناسَ فما بِنَا مِنْ ضَعف عنهم ولئن كُنّا إنّما نقاتل الله كما يزعم محمّد فما لأحد باللّه من طاقة

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[16] The usage of *fa-* in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* seems to be common in Modern Literary Arabic.

And by my life, if we fight only against people, we are not weak against them, and if we fight against God, as Muḥammad claims, then nobody has power against God

(Sīrah I, 621, 18)

See also: *Jamīl* 163, 4; *Jarīr* 514, 2; *Farazdaq* 33, 8; 71, 2; 486, 10; *Hudhaliyyīn III* 1318, 3 f.b.; *Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah* 23, 5; 24, 5; 24, 7; 27, 3; *Abū Nuwās* 132, 1 f.b.; 156, 7; 180, 2; 215, 5; 336, 5 f.b.; 463, 3 f.b.; 581, 5; *Ṭabarī II 1* 116, 13; *Ṭabarī II 3* 1936, 14; *Ṭabarī III 1* 643, 4; *Ibn Saʿd III 1* 213, 2; *Balādhurī V* 13, 19; 13, 22; 43, 7; 158, 1; 304, 16; *Jāḥiẓ* 77, 6; 172, 12; 305, 5.

b. Generally when the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) starts with *inna*, the second element after *inna* (the *khabar* or the *ism*) is preceded by *la-* (*al-lām al-muzaḥliqah*), which, according to the Arab grammarians, moved from its regular position at the beginning of the clause. This *la-* is generally inserted also in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* clauses,[17] yet deviations from this are not rare:

وَلَئِنْ جَزَيْتِ ٱلْوُدَّ مِنّي مِثْلَهُ
إِنّي بِذٰلِكَ يا بُثَيْنَ جَدِيرُ

And if you requite my love with a similar (love)
I deserve it Oh Buthayna

(Jamīl 98, 1 f.b.)

فقال معاوية لزياد لئن لم تكن مكرتَ بي انّ هذه الكُتُبَ من حاجتي

And Muʿāwiyah said to Ziyād: If you did not receive me, these letters concern me

(Ṭabarī II 1, 26, 14)

See also: *Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah* 243, 1 f.b.; *Abū Nuwās* 302, 9; *Ṭabarī II 1* 469, 13; *Ṭabarī II 3* 1748, 10; 1853, 10; 1853, 20; *Ibn Saʿd V* 163, 4; *Balādhurī V* 132, 16; *Jāḥiẓ* 300, 5 f.b.

c. When the complement of the oath starts with a positive perfect verb it is preceded by *la-qad*.[18] The apodoses of *la-ʾin* generally fol-

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[17] See Trumpp, p. 387.
[18] Wright II, pp. 175–6.

low this pattern.[19] There are a few cases, however, in which the apodosis starts with the perfect form of the verb, but is not preceded by *la-qad* (a structure which is very common in the apodoses of *in* clauses).

وَلَئِنْ سَأَلْتَ بِذَاكَ عَبْلَةَ أَخْبَرَتْ
لَا لَا أُرِيدُ مِنَ ٱلنِّسَاءِ سِوَاهَا

And if I ask ʿAblah about this, she will say:
"no, I do not want any woman except her"

(Shantamarī II 163, 7)

فَلَئِنْ كَانَ كَذَا صَا
فَحْتُ رَخْصَ ٱلكَفِّ رَطْبَا

And if it be so,
I will shake a tender delicate hand

(Abū Nuwās 718, 5)

قال لئن صَدَقتْ رؤياه قتَله عبدُ الملك بنُ مروانَ

He said: If his vision is right, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān will kill him

(Ibn Saʿd V 91, 15)

ولك العهدُ والميثاقُ لئن انت أَخْبرتَني خبرَ وجهِك هذا رفعتُها اليك

And you have (my) oath and (my) promise, if you tell me what is your purpose, I will deliver them to you (i.e. the one thousand dīnārs)

(Ṭabarī II 3 1451, 14)

ولئن جاز هذا الوصفُ وحَسُنَ هذا النعتُ كان لِقاسم التمّار من الفضيلة ما ليس لأحمد بن عبد الوهاب

And if this description were conceivable and this characterization were suitable, then Q̲āsim, the dealer in dates, would have had a virtue which Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb lacks

(Jāḥiẓ 192, 1 f.b.)

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[19] Trumpp, p. 387.

d. When the complement of the oath is a positive verbal clause with the verb in the perfect, it requires the particle *la-qad* directly before the verb.[20] This is also the case in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* clauses. Exceptions to this rule, in which *la-* directly precedes the perfect verb are found in the Qurʾān and other early sources. In many of these cases *la-* directly precedes the verb *ṭāla* or the combination *ṭāla mā* (to last long, it is a long time since), the verb *wadda* (to wish, to will) and other "state verbs".[21]

وَلَئِنْ أَرْسَلْنَا رِيحاً فَرَأَوْهُ مُصْفَرًّا لَظَلُّوا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ يَكْفُرُونَ

But if We loose a wind, and they see it growing yellow, they remain after that unbelievers

(Qurʾān *30*, 51)[22]

لَئِنِ ٱلْجَزِيرَةُ أَصْبَحَتْ مَمْنُوعَةً
لَوَدِدْتُ أَنَّ بَرِيَّةً لَمْ تُخْلَقِ

If al-Jazīrah becomes prohibited
I wish a desert were not created

(Quṭāmī 35, 6)

وأيمُ اللّه لئن كان هذا لَوَدِدْتُ أَنّي على رأس جبل لا أسمع لكم صوتاً ولا أُلبّي لكم داعياً حتى يأتيني داعي ربّي

By God, if this happens, I would like to be on a mountain peak, not listening to a voice of yours and not answering an invitation on your behalf until an inviter on behalf of my Lord comes to me

(Ibn Saʿd V 121, 7)

واللّه لئن آنطلقتُ لأَغاروا عليّ فآنتزعوا ما معي

By God if I be set free, they will attack me and will snatch what I have with me

(Ibn Saʿd VII 1 90, 7)

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[20] Wright II, pp. 175–6.

[21] For a further discussion of "state verbs" in Arabic see McCarus, pp. 14–16. As to the verbs *ṭāla* and *wadda*, I do not recall any example in which they were preceded by *la-qad*. It seems that they are preceded only by *la-*, even when preceded by an oath.

[22] The translation of this verse, as well as other Qurʾānic versions, is quoted from Arberry's translation of the Qurʾān.

لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ تَابَعْتَ دِينَ مُحَمَّدٍ
وَفَارَقْتَ إِخْوَانَ ٱلصَّفَا وَٱلصَّنَائِعِ
لَبَدَّلْتَ تِلْكَ ٱلنَّفْسَ ذُلًّا بِعِزَّةٍ
غَدَاةَ ٱخْتِلَافِ ٱلْمُرْهَفَاتِ ٱلْقَوَاطِعِ

By my life if you follow the *dīn* of Muḥammed
and leave the faithful ones and the benefactors,
you have replaced this soul with lowness for celebrity
on the day when the sharp blades of the swords hit against each other

(Aghānī 13 66, 4 f.b.)[23]

وَلَئِنْ صَدَرْتَ لَتَصْدُرَنَّ بِحَاجَةٍ
وَلَئِنْ سُقِيتَ لَطَالَ ذَا تَحْوَامَا

And if you leave, you will leave with a need,
and if you be watered, this lasts long, wandering thirsty around the water

(Naqāʾiḍ 39, 3)[24]

For more examples of the verb *ṭāla* preceded by *la-* see: *Naqāʾiḍ* 127, 13;[25] 838, 7;[26] *Farazdaq* 53, 10; 592, 14; 784, 9; *Ibn Saʿd V* 48, 27; 51, 5.

e. Trumpp adduces an example in which the apodosis of *la-ʾin* starts with *la-* followed by the indicative:
Wenn auch eure Zelte zu eng geworden sein mögen,
so weiss mein Herr, dass mein Zelt weit ist

(Howell, *Ar. Gr.* II, p. 716)[27]

لَئِنْ تَكُ قَدْ ضَاقَتْ عَلَيْكُمْ بُيُوتُكُمْ
لَيَعْلَمُ رَبِّي أَنَّ بَيْتِي أَوْسَعُ

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[23] The translation is quoted from I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* Vol. I, ed. S.M. Stern, p. 18 (except for the first hemistich of the second verse).
[24] The same verse occurs in Jarīr, 541, 12.
[25] The same verse occurs in Farazdaq, 712, 2.
[26] The same verse occurs in Farazdaq, 151, 4.
[27] Trumpp, p. 373. I was not able to trace any more examples of that kind in my corpus.

Trumpp mentions that the Basrian grammarians allow the usage of the indicative instead of the energetic only in poetry.

f. When the apodosis starts with a positive verb in the imperfect, the verb has to be in the energetic form.[28] Two examples in which the indicative is preceded by *la-qad* can be found in the Dīwān of al-Farazdaq:

لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ كَانَتْ بَجِيلَةُ أَصْبَحَتْ
قَدِ ٱهْتَضَمَتْ أَهْلَ ٱلْجُدُودِ جُدُودُهَا
لَقَدْ تُدْلِقُ ٱلْغَارَاتِ يَوْمَ لِقَائِهَا
وَقَدْ كَانَ ضَرَّابِي ٱلْجَمَاجِمِ صِيدُهَا

By my life, if it turns out that the
grandfathers of Bajīlah oppress the wealthy ones,
they rush forward the raiding horses on the day of encountering them
and those who strike the chiefs with their swords were their chase

(Farazdaq 178, 4)

لَئِنْ أَصْبَحَ ٱلْوَاشُونَ قَرَّتْ عُيُونُهُمْ
بِهَجْرٍ مَضَى أَو صُرْمِ حَبْلٍ تَجَدَّمَا
لَقَدْ تُصْبِحُ ٱلدُّنْيَا عَلَيْنَا قَصِيرَةً
جَمِيعًا وَمَا نُفْشِي ٱلْحَدِيثَ ٱلْمُكَتَّمَا

If the calumniators become delighted
at a parting that was concluded or at a broken treaty that was cut off
The world becomes short upon us all and we do not divulge the secret story

(Farazdaq 821, 3)

See also the example adduced by Reckendorf (*Synt. Verh.*, p. 690) from Bukhārī.

g. One example was found in which the apodosis starts with the jussive, a structure commonly used in the apodoses of *in* clauses.

[28] Trumpp, pp. 386–7.

لَئِنْ بَلَّ لِي أَرْضِي بِلَالٌ بِدَفْعَةٍ
مِنَ ٱلْغَيْثِ فِي يُمْنَى يَدَيْهِ ٱنْسِكَابُهَا
أَكُنْ كَٱلَّذِي صَابَ ٱلْحَيَا أَرْضَهُ ٱلَّتِي
سَقَاهَا وَقَدْ كَانَتْ جَدِيبًا جَنَابُهَا

If Bilāl moistens my land with a pouring
of rain, the pouring of which is in his right hand,
I will be like someone for whom the rain has flooded his land which he wished to be rained on, after its surrounding area suffered from drought

(Farazdaq 54, 4)

h. In one case the apodosis of *la-ʾin* starts with *mā*ʾ followed by the jussive(!). This unusual structure is probably due to metric reasons (the metre *mutaqārib*):

لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ حَجَبَتْنِي ٱلْعَبِيدُ
بِبَابِكَ مَا يَحْجُبُوا ٱلْقَافِيَهْ

By my life, if the servants hinder me
at your door, they cannot stop the poem

(Jāḥiẓ 166, 6)

i. When the complement of the oath is a negative verb referring to the future, the structure is generally *lā* followed by the indicative[29] (another, though rarer, possibility is *lā* followed by the perfect). This is also the regular structure in *la-ʾin* clauses. Cases in which *lā* is followed by the jussive are very rare, and are probably due to the common usage of this structure in *in* clauses. Two examples were found which follow this pattern:

وأيمُ اللّه ما أرى أن يَقبَلوا ولئن لم يقبلوا الحقّ لا نقبلْ منهم الباطلَ

By God, I do not think they will accept, and if they do not accept the truth, we will not accept vanity from them

(Ṭabarī II 1 39, 10)

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[29] See Wehr, p. 32.

The reading *lā naqbal* in the jussive is supplied by the editor, and should be corrected to the indicative form *naqbalu* which follows the regular usage. The following example, however, is more evident:

وأيمُ الله لئن لَقِيتُهم ففاتني النصرُ لا تفُتْني الشهادةُ إن شاء اللّه

By God, if I encounter them and victory slips away from me, martyrdom will not slip away from me

(Ṭabarī II 2, 644, 15)

j. The structure "*lam* jussive" in the apodosis which is very common in *in* clauses, is extremely rare in *la-ʾin* clauses. Only one example like this was found, and even that one is not certain, for two other versions read *law* instead of *la-ʾin*:

أما واللّه لئن أطعتَني لم تأتِه

By God, if you accede to me, you will not come to him

(Ṭabarī II 2 787, 6)

k. The structure "*la-mā* perfect" is common in the apodoses of *law* clauses, but is very rare in the apodoses of *la-ʾin*. Only one example was found:

لئن كنتَ جاوزتَ بي قدري عندك لَمَا بلغتُ بك أمَلي فيك

If you transgressed my determined quantity with regard to you, then I did not reach my hope with regard to you

(ʿUyūn al-Akhbār 220, 17)

l. The particle *idhan* is sometimes inserted in the apodoses of conditional clauses,[30] especially after *law*. The insertion of *idhan* is not uncommon in the apodoses of *la-ʾin* clauses. This shows that the second clause after *la-ʾin* is treated as the apodosis of a conditional clauses rather than as the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*), as claimed by the Arab grammarians. This usage is early, for it is not uncommon even in the Qurʾān, but there only when the apodosis starts with *inna*.

وَلَئِنِ ٱتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَكَ مِنَ ٱلْعِلْمِ إِنَّكَ إِذَنْ لَمِنَ ٱلظَّالِمِينَ

[30] See Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, p. 701.

If thou followest their caprices, after the knowledge that has come to thee, then thou wilt surely be among the evildoers

(Qurʾān *2*, 145)

See also: *Qurʾān 7*, 89; *12*, 14; *23*, 34; *Ibn Saʿd V* 253, 16; *Ṭabarī II 3* 1748, 10.

Examples in which the particle *idhan* is placed at the beginning of the apodosis are extremely rare:[31]

لَئِنْ أَبْصَرْتُهُ عَيْنَاً خُصُوصَاً
يُقَادُ إِذاً سَيَفْدُوهُ بِمَالِ

If I see him with special eye
being led, then he will free him with money

(Hudhaliyyīn II 567, 2)

لَئِنْ أَتَيْتُكَ يَا حَجَّاجُ مُعْتَذِراً
إِذاً فَلَا قُبِلَتْ تِلْكَ ٱلْمَعَاذِيرُ

If I come to you Oh Ḥajjāj apologizing,
then may these excuses not be accepted

(Balādhurī V 359, 5)

2. *Deviations in the Protasis*

The following deviations were found in the protasis:

a. la-ʾin jussive
b. la-ʾin . . . perfect

a. As mentioned by Trumpp *la-ʾin* is a particle which governs the perfect form of the verb and not the jussive (*adāt sharṭ ghayr jāzimah*).[32] This is in contrast with the particle *in* which governs both the perfect and the jussive. According to one explanation whenever the conditional clause is elliptic the conditional particle is followed by the perfect form of the verb and not by the jussive. According to this explanation *la-ʾin* clauses belong to this category, since they are followed by the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) and not by an apodosis.[33]

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[31] See also the examples adduced by Trumpp, p. 412.
[32] See Trumpp, pp. 388–9.
[33] Ibid.

This rule is always observed in the Qurʾān,[34] and exceptions are very rare in other texts too. As a matter of fact most of the examples which were found are not certain, for other versions read *fa-ʾin* or *wa-ʾin* instead of *la-ʾin*.

لَئِنْ يُسْلِمِ ٱللَّهُ ٱلْمَرَاسِيلَ بِٱلضُّحَى
وَمَرَّ ٱلْقَوَافِي يَهْتَدِي وَيَجُورُ
تُبَلِّغْ بَنِي نَهْبَانَ مِنِّي قَصَائِدًا
تَطَالَعُ مِنْ سَلْمَى وَهُنَّ وُعُورُ

If God keeps the easy-paced camels safe in the forenoon,
and the passing of the rhymes goes straight and astray,
They will deliver Banū Nahbān poems of me
they will come from Salmā being rugged

(Jarīr 265, 1)[35]

لَئِنْ تَكُ طَيِّءٌ كَانَتْ لِئَامًا
فَأَلْأَمُهَا رَبِيعَةُ أَوْ بَنُوهُ

If Ṭayyiʾ were ignoble,
the most ignoble among them is Rabīʿah and his sons

(Mutanabbī 4 511, 3)[36]

لَئِنْ تَسْلُ عَنْكَ ٱلنَّفْسُ أَوْ تَذْهَلِ ٱلْهَوَى
فَبِٱلْيَأْسِ يَسْلُو ٱلْقَلْبُ لَا بِٱلتَّجَلُّدِ

If the soul forgets you or love is diverted,
then the heart is diverted out of despair, not out of endurance

(Ṭabarī II 3 1465, 12)[37]

See also the example quoted in par. *e* above.

[34] See Tietz, p. 35.
[35] This example is not certain, for another version reads *fa-ʾin* instead of *la-ʾin*. The reading *fa-ʾin* is also supported by the fact that the apodosis does not have the structure of the complement of the oath.
[36] I owe this example to my student N. Khouri. This example too is uncertain, for another edition reads *wa-ʾin* instead of *la-ʾin* (See the Berlin edition (1861), p. 696, 11 f.b.).
[37] In this case too another version reads *fa-ʾin* instead of *la-ʾin*.

b. Insertion of subject pronouns between the conditional particles *in*, *idhā* and the verb occurs in Classical Arabic.[38] This phenomenon is not irregular with *la-'in* clauses. It occurs in the early sources of our corpus, although it never occurs in the Qur'ān.

وَلَئِنْ أنا أَنكرتُ ما يقولون لا تُصَدِّقونني

And if I disapprove of what they say, you will not believe me
(Sīrah II 302, 4)

فقال لئن أنتِ حبستِني لأَحرصنَّ على قتل مَن يتعرّض لي

And he said: If you hold me back, I will strive to kill anyone who stands against me
(Ibn Sa'd III I 84, 11)

فَلَئِنْ هِيَ ٱحْتَسَبَتْ عَلَيَّ لَقَدْ رَأَتْ
عَيْنَايَ صَرْعَةَ مَيِّتٍ لَمْ يَسْقَمِ

And if she disapproves of me, then my eyes see
the falling of a dead man who was not sick
(Farazdaq 779, 16)

For insertion of first person pronoun between *la-'in* and the verb see also: *Ibn Sa'd I 1* 115, 19; 115, 24; *Ṭabarī II 2* 922, 5; 992, 1; 1213, 13; *Ṭabarī II 3* 1707, 10.

For insertion of second person pronoun see also: *Hudhaliyyīn III* 1318, 3 f.b.; *Ṭabarī II 3* 1451, 14.

For insertion of third person pronoun see also *Ṭabarī II 3* 1936, 13.

Other elements too can be inserted between *la-'in* and the verb. One example was found in which a prepositional phrase is inserted after *la-'in*:

فَلَئِنْ بِهِمْ فَجَعَ ٱلزَّمَانُ وَرَيْبُهُ
إِنِّي بِأَهْلِ مَوَدَّتِي لَمُفَجَّعُ

And if fate and its vicissitude distress them,
I will be stricken by the loss of my friends
(Hudhaliyyīn III 1310, 8)

[38] See Blau, "Syntactic Phenomena", par. 50, 50.1.

In many cases a noun or a proper noun is inserted between *la-ʾin* and the verb. All the examples were found in poetry, most of them from the poetry of al-Farazdaq.

لَئِنْ أَسَدٌ حَلَّتْ قُيُودِي يَمِينُهُ
لَقَدْ بَلَغَتْ نَفْسِي مَكَانَ ٱلْمُحَنَّقِ

If the right hand of Asad unties my chains,
my soul has reached the place of an enraged one

(Farazdaq 582, 10)

لَئِنِ ٱلْجَزِيرَةُ أَصْبَحَتْ مَمْنُوعَةً
لَوَدِدْتُ أَنَّ بَرِيَّةً لَمْ تُخْلَقِ

If al-Jazīrah becomes prohibited,
I wish a desert were not created

(Quṭāmī 35, 6)

لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ شَيْخَا فَزَارَةَ أُسْلِمَا
لَقَدْ حَزِنَتْ قَيْسٌ وَقَدْ ظَفِرَتْ كَلْبُ

By my life, if the two chiefs of Fazārah be betrayed,
Qays will be grieved and Kalb will gain

(Balādhurī V 312, 11)

See also: *Naqāʾiḍ* 378, 6 (also in *Farazdaq* 857, 1); 525, 7 (also in *Farazdaq* 459, 2); 841, 3; *Farazdaq* 33, 5; 33, 7; 69, 8; 192, 8; 582, 10; 596, 3; 622, 11; 663, 2; 797, 5; 820, 4; 866, 15; *Quṭāmī* 34, 1 f.b.; *Balādhurī V* 202, 15.

3. *The Conditional Clause as a Complement*

In some cases *la-ʾin* follows a vow (*nadhara*), a commitment (*aʿṭā ʿahdan*) or other verbs which require a complement, such as "know" (*ʿalima*). In those cases the conditional clause is followed by the complement of the phrase preceding it, and does not have an apodosis, the conditional clause being elliptic. The complement after *la-ʾin* clauses starts with *an* followed by the subjunctive, *an al-mukhaffafah* or *anna*, depending on the verb governing the complement.

حتى سمع له على ان أعطاه عهداً من الله وميثاقا لئن رجعتْ قريش وغطفان ولم يُصيبوا محمداً أن أدخلَ معك في حِصْنِك يُصيبني ما أصابك

Until he obeyed him on the condition that he gave him an oath by God and a promise, if Quraysh and Ghatafān came back and did not afflict Muḥammad, I will enter your fortress with you until I am struck with what strikes you

(Sīrah II 221, 8)

إنّي زَعِيمٌ لَئِنْ لَمْ تَتْرُكُوا عَذَلِي
أَنْ يَسئَلَ ٱلْحَيُّ عَنِّي أَهْلَ آفَاقِ

I assure you, if you do not stop blaming me,
the tribe will ask about me all over the world (and no one will know where I am)

(Mufaḍḍaliyyāt 18, 17)

نَذَرَ لَئِنْ أَكْمَلَ ٱللّٰهُ لَهُ عَشَرَةَ ذُكُورٍ حَتّى يَرَاهُمْ أَنْ يَذْبَحَ أَحَدَهُمْ

And he vowed, if God supplements him with ten male (sons) so that he lives to see them, he will sacrifice one of them

(Ibn Saʿd I 1 53 13)

وقد أعطى اللّهَ الأميرُ عهداً لئن أتْمَمْتم على حربه ولم تنصرفوا من عشيّتكم ان يحرّم ذريّتكم العطاءَ

And the Emir gave God an oath, if you do fight against him and do not depart this evening, he will deny the allowance to your descendants

(Ṭabarī II 1 257, 19)

فأعطى اللّه عهداً لئن ظفِر بهم أنْ لا يُقلع عنهم ولا يرفع عنهم السيف

And he gave God an oath, if he overcomes them, he will not relinquish them, and he will not withdraw his sword from them

(Ṭabarī II 3 1330, 10)

The complement starting with *an al-mukhaffafah*:

وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ لَئِنْ فَزَارَةُ أُمِّرَتْ
أَنْ سَوْفَ يَطْمَعُ فِي ٱلْإِمَارَةِ أَشْجَعُ

And I knew if Fazārah be invested with authority,
braver ones will finally aspire after the authority
(Ṭabarī II 3 1433, 15)[39]

وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ لَئِنْ عَدَدْتُ ذُنُوبَهُ
أَنْ سَوْفَ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يُذْنِبِ

And I knew, if I counted his sins,
he will finally claim that he did not commit any offense
(ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah 441, 10)

The conditional clause followed by *anna*:

أَحَقًّا لَئِنْ دَارُ ٱلرَّبَابِ تَبَاعَدَتْ
أَوِ ٱنْبَتَّ حَبْلٌ أَنَّ قَلْبَكَ طَائِرُ

Is it true, if the house of al-Rabāb is distant
or if a link is cut off, that your heart flees
(ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah 109, 8)

4. *Inverted Conditional Clause*

The phenomenon of the apodosis preceding the protasis is not uncommon with *in* clauses.[40] It occurs also with *la-ʾin* clauses, but not very often. Inverted conditions of that type never occur in the Qurʾān,[41] but occur in other early sources. Sometimes the preceding apodosis has the structure of the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*), even though it precedes the oath represented by *la-* (*al-lām al-muwaṭṭiʾah lil-qasam*).

أَلِمْ بِزَيْنَبَ إِنَّ ٱلْبَيْنَ قَدْ أَفِدَا
قَلَّ ٱلثَّوَاءُ لَئِنْ كَانَ ٱلرَّحِيلُ غَدَا

[39] Other versions read *in* and *idhā* instead of *la-ʾin*.
[40] See Trumpp, pp. 398–9, and Tietz, pp. 30–34.
[41] See Tietz, p. 35.

Visit Zaynab, parting has drawn near,
the staying has become short if departure is tomorrow
(ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah 391, 8)

عَدِمْتُ إذاً وَفْري وَفَارَقْتُ مُهْجَتي
لَئِنْ لَمْ أُقِلْ قِرْناً إِذَا ٱللّٰهُ سَلَّمَا

I will lose my wealth and abandon my soul
if I do not condone an opponent when God consents
(ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah 462, 9)

أَيَا رَبِّ نَحْنُ ٱلْفَائِزُونَ غداً لَئِنْ
تَوَلَّيْتَنَا يَا رَبِّ فِيمَنْ تَوَلَّيتَا

Oh my Lord, we are the winners tomorrow if
we are intrusted, Oh my Lord, among those whom you help
(Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah 85, 8)

See also: *Ibn Saʿd V* 253, 20; *Ṭabarī II 1* 317, 17; *Ṭabarī II 2* 1240, 8.

The preceding apodosis with the structure of the complement of the oath:

وَإِنِّي لَمِمَّنْ خَيَّبَ ٱللّٰهُ سَعْيَهُ
لَئِنْ كُنْتُ أَرْعَى لَقْحَةً مُرَّةَ ٱلْحَلْبِ

And I will be of the people whose effort God has frustrated
if I pasture a milch-camel which has bitter milk
(Abū l-ʿAtāhiyah 49, 7)

لَبِئْسَ الشيخُ أنا في الإسلام لئن أوقعتُ قوماً فقُتلوا ثمّ فررتُ عن مثل مصارعهم

What an evil Sheikh I will be in Islam if I land people (into a war) and they get killed, and then I run away from a death like theirs
(Balādhurī V 367, 10)

5. In *Clauses with the Structure of* la-ʾin

As we have seen, when the conditional clause is preceded by an oath, the apodosis has the structure of the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*). This is generally true even when the conditional clause starts with *in* instead of *la-ʾin*.

والله الذى بعثك بالحقّ إن شئتَ لَنميلَنَّ على أهل منًى غداً بأسيافنا

By God who has sent you with truth, if you wish, we will turn tomorrow on the people of Minan with our swords

(Sīrah I 448, 1)

See also: *Sīrah I* 371, 1; *Farazdaq* 892, 7; *Jāḥiẓ* 270, 3 f.b.; *Abū Nuwās* 97, 6; *Ibn Saʿd V* 214, 10; *Ṭabarī II 1* 492, 5; *Ṭabarī II 2* 605, 2.

This is also true when *in* follows a vow or a request (*duʿāʾ*):

إنّ عليّ يميناً إن رأيته لأقتلنّه

I have given an oath (that) if I see him, I will kill him

(Ṭabarī III 1 201, 1)

ثم قال: نُفيتُ من المهديّ إن أنتَ جئْتَني ولم تأْتني برأسه لأُرسلَنّ اليك من يأتيني برأسك أوّلا ثم برأسه آخرا

And he said: May I be driven away from al-Mahdī, if you come to me and you do not bring me his head, I will send someone to you who will bring me your head first, then his head

(Ṭabarī III 2 679, 5)

This structure occurs also when the conditional clause follows an oath which has another complement:

وأيمُ الله لأتعرضنَّ فإن عاد لأكفينّكَنّه

By God, I shall thwart, and if he comes back, I will protect you against him

(Sīrah I 609, 7)

والله لا أُغنّي لنفسي شَيْئًا أبداً ما دمت حيًّا وانْ غلبتْني نفسي فغنّيتُ من شعرٍ آستحسنتُه لا نسبتُه إلا إليك

By God, I will never sing anything of my own as long as I live, and if my ego overcomes me and I sing a poem which I like, I will not attribute it to anybody except you

(Riwāyāt al-Aghānī 9, 5)

The conditional particle *in* often takes the complement of an oath in its apodosis when it follows a *la-ʾin* clause.[42]

وَلَئِنْ كَانَ خَيْراً لَيَحْتَلِبُنَّهَا لَبَناً
وَإِنْ كَانَ قَتْلُهُ شَرًّا لَيَمْتَصِرُنَّهَا دَماً

And if it is something good, they will milk milk out of it,
and if his assassination is something bad, they will milk blood out of it

(Balādhurī V 92, 13)

See also *Balādhurī V*: 326, 15; 359, 5; *Ṭabarī III 1* 407, 15.

Sometimes *in* clauses have the complement of the oath as an apodosis even when the conditional clause is not preceded by an oath or anything reminiscent of it:

زعم أنه إن رجع الى المدينة لَيُخرِجَنَّ الأعزّ منها الأذلّ

He claimed that if he came back to al-Madīnah, the more honored will drive the more humbled out of it

(Sīrah II 292, 2)

وَإِنْ لم يَنْتَهُوا عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ لَيَمَسَّنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

If they refrain not from what they say, there shall afflict those of them that disbelieve a painful chastisement

(Qurʾān *5*, 76)

وَإِنْ أَطَعْتُمُوهُمْ إِنَّكُمْ لَمُشْرِكُونَ

If you obey them, you are idolators

(Qurʾān *6*, 121)[43]

See also: *Quṭāmī* 10, 2 f.b.; *Riwāyāt al-Aghānī* 6, 1 f.b.

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[42] For this phenomenon in the Qurʾān see Tietz, p. 35.

[43] For this example see also Tietz, p. 28. She does not find an explanation to this structure.

The cases in which *in* follows an oath and does not have the complement of an oath in its apodosis are extremely rare. It does happen though when the oath does not come in initial position, namely when it is inserted after *inna*,[44] because then the oath is inserted within another clause and does not take a complement of its own.[45]

إنّي واللّه إن قُتلتُ لم تزدادوا إلّا ضعفاً وذلاًّ

By God, if I get killed, you will only get more weakness and humiliation

(Balādhurī V 261, 22)

قال فانّك واللّه إن قتلتَ رجلاً واحداً فكأنّما قُتل الناسُ جميعاً

He said: By God, if you kill one man, it is as if all the people were killed

(Ibn Saʿd III 48, 28)

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[44] In Sībawayhi's illustration the oath is inserted after the subject pronoun *anā*: أَنَا واللّه إنْ تَاتِني لَا آتِك "I, by God, if you come to me, I will not come to you" (Sībawayhi I, p. 395).

[45] When the oath is not found in initial position it might even be followed by the negative *lam*, which is otherwise not permissible after the oath (see Wehr, p. 33, footnote 1).

4

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES AS TOPICS IN ARABIC: ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN FRONTAL POSITION SEPARATED FROM THEIR MAIN CLAUSES

Synopsis

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1. *Introduction*

Topics[1] in front extraposition are attested in different languages and have drawn the attention of quite a few linguists.[2] In Arabic, in addition to the long recognized phenomenon of phrases following *ʾammā* "as to" and isolated from the rest of the sentence by the particle *fa-*, attention has been recently called to other structures of topics in frontal position, such as "tautological" infinitives,[3] cleft-sentences,[4] and sentence adverbials.[5] It is the purpose of this study to show that adverbial clauses in Arabic frequently function as extraposed topics in frontal position isolated from their main clauses (= comments) under conditions similar to those characterizing other types of topics separated from their comments. In addition to the implication this perception might have with regard to other languages exhibiting a similar relation between adverbial clauses and their main clauses, this presentation supplies a common origin and a more comprehensive framework for apparently unrelated phenomena in Arabic. Thus the particle *fa-* after *ʾammā* phrases, sentence adverbials in frontal position, and conditional and other adverbial clauses, exhibits a common function, namely, it is a particle marking the comment after a topic in front extraposition. This is also the function of *la-* after oaths; topics introduced by *ʾinna*; and conditional clauses introduced by *la-ʾin* and *law*.

The observation that adverbial clauses in front extraposition relate to their main clauses as isolated topics do to their comments was

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[1] For reasons of convenience I use the terms topic/comment for what has often been called psychological, logical, or natural subject/predicate, theme/rheme, etc. For the vast literature dealing with this issue and the different terminology used, cf. Blau, *Adverbials*, 5, n. 11; Goldenberg, "Tautological infinitive", 37. n. 3; idem., *Cleft sentences*, 127, and especially notes 1–2; Haiman, 583, § 2.2 and the literature cited there. In the present article I use the terms topic/comment according to the two complementary definitions provided by Haiman, namely "the topic is what the speaker is talking about" or "the given or old information in the sentence"; "the comment is what he says about it" or "the new information" (ibid.).

[2] Cf. Goldenberg, "Tautological infinitive", 36–40 and the literature cited in notes 1–2; idem, *Cleft sentences*, 127; Haiman, 587–9.

[3] Goldenberg, "Tautological infinitive", 37; 77–8, § 39.

[4] Idem, *Cleft sentences*, 130–132.

[5] Blau, *Adverbials*, 1–18 §1:1–1:6; 53–71, §3:1–3:6. Other studies focusing on topic/comment structures in Arabic are Anshen & Schreiber, "A focus transformation of Modern Standard Arabic"; Kennedy-Lewkowicz, "Topic-comment and relative clause in Arabic"; Beeston, "Embedding of the theme-predicate structure in Arabic"; M.M. Bravmann, *Studies*; idem, "The syntactic background of Arabic nouns with prefix *ma-*".

made some thirty years ago by M.M. Bravmann.[6] This remark was not based solely on semantic grounds, but also on the formal argument that "like the term following *ʾammā* "as to" plus noun, the apodosis of conjunctional clauses (in Arabic) is very often introduced by *fa-*."[7] This thesis gains firm support through recent studies dedicated to the semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of topic-comment structures in various languages.[8] In his article, J. Haiman adduces some elaborations of the theoretical aspects of topics, which offer a semantic justification for the identification of adverbial clauses as topics. Thus, according to W. Chafe's observation cited there,[9] "topics are not necessarily what the sentence is ABOUT. Rather, the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework which limits the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain." According to this interpretation, adverbial clauses certainly fall under the definition of topics. In his monograph dedicated to sentence adverbials in frontal position, J. Blau shows how sentence adverbials such as *li-hādhā* "therefore", *hākadhā* "thus" and many others, often occur as topics in front extraposition, the beginning of the comment being frequently marked by *fa-*, and marginally by other elements.[10] This phenomenon has significant implications on our study, for if sentence adverbials frequently occur as topics, it is not surprising that "elaborated" forms of adverbials—namely adverbial clauses—should function as topics too.[11]

Our perception of adverbial clauses as topics however is not based solely on logical-semantic grounds. Adverbial clauses share several formal features which characterize topics as such:[12] 1. Like other topics, they show a tendency to occur sentence-initially.[13] 2. Topics, as the given or the old information in the sentence, may not be the only element of a sentence.[14] This is true of adverbial clauses as well,

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[6] Bravmann, *Studies*, 18–9.
[7] Ibid., 19.
[8] Cf. Haiman, § 2.2 and the literature cited there.
[9] Haiman, 585, where more literature in favor of this perception of topics is adduced.
[10] For details cf. Blau, *Adverbials*, § 3:1–3:6.
[11] For the similar function of adverbial clauses and adverbials, cf. Curme, 570 (cited in Ben Asher, 103, n. 4).
[12] Haiman has shown it with regard to conditional clauses, but these characteristics are shared by other adverbial clauses as well.
[13] For a discussion of this tendency in topics, cf. Haiman, 572.
[14] Ibid., 569.

which are also classified as "subordinate clauses" unliable of constituting a complete utterance. 3. As noted by Haiman,[15] a pattern characteristic of topic-comment structures in various languages is a "full form of topic at first introduction", and a "reduced form (if any) thereafter".[16] Thus, according to this interpretation, in structures of the type *if*. . ., *then* . . ., the word *then* "constitutes a pronominalized form of the conditional clause",[17] just as other sentences with an extraposed topic may exhibit in their comments a pronoun referring back to the "dislocated" topic. Haiman has shown it to be true with regard to conditional clauses in Hua and other languages,[18] and the same observation was made a few years earlier with regard to certain conditional clauses in Hebrew.[19] This phenomenon however is not characteristic of conditional clauses alone, but is rather manifested in various adverbial clauses. Thus, Arabic pronominalizes various clauses of time and condition by *ʾidh, ʾidhā*, or *ʾidhan*, particles of originally temporal meaning denoting "then"; clauses of cause may be pronominalized by *li-dhā, li-dhālika* "therefore"; clauses of comparisons may be pronominalized by *ka-dhālika* "so, likewise", etc.[20] 4. The Arabic topic marker *ʾammā* "as to" is often attested before conditional and temporal clauses,[21] a fact stressing once more the topic-comment relation between the protasis and apodosis. 5. As noted by Haiman,[22] the regular mark of the condition is also the regular mark of the topic in various languages. This is manifested in Arabic (and Hebrew) by the occurrence of the same comment markers in different topic-comment structures on the one hand, and between adverbial clauses and their main clauses on the other hand. This refers to the occurrence of *fa-*, *wa*, and *la-* in different topic-comment structures and between adverbial clauses and their main clauses. As will be shown below, these categories not only share the same comment markers, but often require their occurrence under surprisingly similar syntactical conditions.

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[15] Ibid.
[16] This structure is well known in Arabic and Hebrew. Cf. § 2.3 below.
[17] Haiman, 576.
[18] Ibid., 572–7.
[19] Ben Asher, 125–6.
[20] For more examples cf. § 2.5 below.
[21] Cf. § 2.5.1, 2.5.2 below.
[22] Haiman, 577; 587, n. 16.

2. *The comment marker fa-*

The particle *fa-* is the most common comment marker. It is attested in the following constructions: 1. After topics introduced by *ʾammā* "as to" and its synonyms. 2. After topics introduced by *ʾinna/ʾanna.* 3. In sentences exhibiting a dislocated frontal topic pronominalized in its comment.[23] 4. After sentence adverbials in front extraposition. 5. After adverbial clauses in front extraposition. As the fifth category is the focus of the present study, the first four categories will be discussed only insofar as they give us a better insight into the phenomenon with which we are dealing.

2.1 *Topics introduced by* ʾammā *and its synonyms*

Arabic often uses the particle *ʾammā* "as to" before the topic "in order to mark it as emphatically contrasted with some other entity."[24] The topics preceded by *ʾammā* may be the grammatical subjects, adverbials, objects,[25] and even adverbial clauses of condition and time introduced by *ḥīna* "when", *ʾidh* "when", *ʾidhā* "when", *law* "if (hypothetical), *ʾin* "if", as well as subject clauses in the form of substantival relative clauses introduced by *man* "whoever", *alladhīna* "those who".[26] In these constructions, *fa-* marking the comment is obligatory in almost all layers of the language.[27] Modern Standard Arabic

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[23] This structure is often referred to as *casus pendens*. For reasons of convenience I will adhere to this term when dealing with these constructions.

[24] Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 65.

[25] Cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, § 182, 6.

[26] Cf. ibid., § 270, 2, and § 2.5.1, 2.5.2 below, *ʾammā* is also attested before clauses introduced by *ʾan al-maṣdariyyah* (namely clauses which can be rendered by the infinitive). Note that the clause introduced by *ʾan al-maṣdariyyah* is pronominalized in the comment clause by *hādhā: fa-ʾammā ʾan ʾadaʿa shayʾan yuṭmiʿu fī fuḍūli mā yabqā ʿalā -l-ghuramāʾi fa-hādhā mā lā yajūzu* "But as for giving up something which fills with greed for the rest of what is due from the debtors, this is something inconceivable" (Jāḥiẓ, *Buxalāʾ*, II, 69, l. 3). In MSA this structure may be preceded by *lākin* rather than *ʾammā: lākin ʾan taṣila bi-himi -l-ʾumūru ʾilā ʾibrāzi hādhihi -l-ʿalāqati ka-xiyānatin kubrā shāraka fīhā kullu -d-durūzi fa-hādhā mā narfiḍuhu* "But that this should lead them to present this relation as a big treachery in which all the Druses took share—this is something we refuse to accept" (N. al-Qāsim, *Wāqiʿ al-durūz fī ʾIsrāʾīl*, 15. l. 6 n.b.). *ʾammā* is also attested before *ʾanna al-masdariyyah: ʾammā ʾannahā sharṭun fa-yadullu la-hā luzūmu -l-fāʾi baʿdahā* "As for its being a conditional, it is demonstrated by the obligatory *fa-* after it" (*Mughnī al-labīh*, I, 56, l. 4, s.v. *ʾammā*).

[27] Exceptions are rare in CA (cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 370, n. 4). but seem to be rather frequent in MA (cf. Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 204–5, § 323 and the literature adduced in n. 21 there). In MSA the occurrence of *fa-* seems to be obligatory (cf. Beeston, 65).

(MSA) attests to the occurrence of *fa-* even after other phrases synonymous to *'ammā*, such as *fī-mā yataʿallaqu bi-* "as to", and *bi-n-nisbati li-* "with regard to".[28] Yet, contrary to 'ammā constructions, *fa-* is more freely deleted in synonymous constructions. I have noted this were the comment starts with the indicative verb as, for example, in the sentence: *wa-bi-n-nisbati li-tafsīri -l-'aḥlāmi narā* "With regard to dream interpretation we see ..." (*al-Anbā'*, 27.10.80, 7, col. 1, l. 11 from the beginning of the article). It is interesting to note that MSA may join together *'ammā bi-n-nisbati 'ilā*,[29] a fact indicating that *'ammā* alone is no more felt as "emphatically" marking the topic.

2.2 *Topics introduced by* 'inna/'anna

The particles *'inna/'*anna introduce a topic-comment structure. The comment of these structures is frequently introduced by *la-*, and marginally by *fa-*.

'inna

'inna -lladhīna fatanū -l-mu'minīna wa-l-mu'mināti thumma lam yatūbū fa-la-hum ʿadhābu jahannama "Those who persecute the believers, men and women, and then have not repented, there awaits them the chastisement of Gehenna" (Qur'ān, *85*:10); *'inna kulla muslimin fa-muntaẓirun shafāʿata -llāhi* "every Muslim expects God's protection" (Brockelmann, II, 442, quoted from Ghazālī, *'Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn,* also adduced by Blau. *Adverbials*, 54, n. 4); *'inna jamīʿa man ... fa-ʿādatuhum* "all those who ..., their habit is ..." (Brockelmann, II, 443, quoted from Ibn Baṭṭūṭah).

'anna

fal-yaʿlamū 'anna kulla musāfirin fa-bi-ʿarḍi makrūhin "let them know that everyone who travels is exposed to a mishap" (Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-muʿallimīna*, 84, l. 3).

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[28] Cf. for example al-Hilāl, 28, l. 9 n.b.; 29, col. 2. l. 1, 30, col. 2, l. 20. See also Blau, *Observations on syntactic trends*, § 6.12; § 8.4.

[29] E.g.: *'ammā bi-n-nisbati 'ilā -l-'umūri -llatī ... fa-yumkinunā 'an ...* "As for the things which ... we can ..." (Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 98, l. 1 n.b.): *'ammā bi-n-nisbati li-l-fatrati -llatī talat ẓuhūra -d-daʿwati -t-tawḥīdiyyati fa-'innanī 'uwāfiqu ...* "As for the period which followed the appearance of the *tawḥīdī* missionary activity, I agree with ..." (al-Qāsim N., *Wāqiʿ al-durūz*, 12, l. 7, *wa-'ammā fīmā yataʿallaqu bi-d-durūzi fa-hum ka-mā qāla 'amīn ṭalīʿ ...* "As for the Druses, they are, as A.T. has said ..." (ibid., 8, l. 6 n.b.).

2.3 *Casus pendens*

A special construction characteristic of topics is the one in which one member of the sentence is extraposed in frontal position as a topic and is later pronominalized in the comment which is formed as a complete clause.[30] Arabic sentences such as *zaydun jā'a 'abūhu* "Z., his father came" are called by Arab grammarians *jumlah 'ismiyyah kubrā* "a bigger nominal sentence", since these sentences exhibit two clauses: a bigger one (*jumlah kubrā*) which consists of the topic and the comment, and a smaller one (*jumlah ṣughrā*) which is the comment. The Arab grammarians regard the extraposed noun phrase (in our example Zayd) as an extraposed subject in initial position (in their terminology *mubtada'* "that with which a beginning is made, the inchoative"), and the smaller clause as its predicate (in their terminology *xabar* "the enunciative" or "announcement"). For the pronoun occurring in the comment and referring back to the topic, they assign the term *rābiṭ* "binder, connector".[31] In Hebrew this structure is called *yiḥūd* "setting apart", and is very close to the Arabic structure.[32]

In Arabic, constructions of casus pendens generally do not mark the comment by *fa-* nor by other comment markers.[33] MSA however may separate between the topic and comment by a comma, and even by an exclamation mark.[34] The comment marker *fa-* may

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[30] For further discussion of this structure in various languages, cf. Haiman, § 1.4.

[31] Cf. Wright, II, 256, § 120; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 366, § 182, 1. From both sources one might get the impression that the Arabic term *jumlah dhāt wajhayn* "a sentence with two faces or aspects" ("Satz mit zwei Gesichtern") denotes the structure of casus pendens. It should be noted however, that the term *jumlah dhāt wajhayn* refers only to one kind of this structure, in which the comment clause (*jumlah ṣughrā*) is initiated by the verb (in contrast with the bigger sentence which is initiated by a substantive). When the comment clause is initiated by a substantive (just like the bigger sentence), this structure is labelled *jumlah dhāt wajhin* "a sentence with one face" (cf. *Mughnī al-labīb*, II, 382, under *'Inqisām al-jumlah al-kubrā 'ilā dhāt wajhin wa-'ilā dhāt wajhayn*).

[32] This construction is often considered the origin of the so called "copula" in Hebrew (*'ōged* "binder') and Arabic (*ḍamīr al-faṣl* "the pronoun of separation"). The copula, which is morphologically identical with the subject pronoun, is thus presented as the pronoun in the comment which refers back to the topic. Cf. Driver, Appendix V, and especially § 199–201; Ornan, § 7.5–7.8; Haiman, § 1.4, and especially example 22b.

[33] Cf. the examples adduced in Wright, II, 256, § 120, and Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 366, § 182, 1.

[34] For example: *nazlah, -llāhu yusāmiḥuhā*! "N.—may God forgive her!" (Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 57, l. 2); *hādhā -l-baytu! lam 'ashhad la-hu mathīlan* "This house—I have not seen anything like it" (Maḥfūẓ, *'Awlād ḥāratinā*, 70, l. 11).

occur when the topic is an expanded noun phrase, and when the comment does not start with the perfect or indicative forms of the verb, e.g.: *ʾulāʾika -lladhīna yaʿlamu -llāhu mā fī qulūbihim fa-ʾaʿriḍ ʿanhum* "Those that God knows what is in their heart—turn away from them" (Qurʾān, *4*:62); *fa-mā ʿudda min xayrin fa-qawmī la-hū ʾahlū* "and whatever is considered good, my people deserve it" (Lyons, 55, l. 1 n.b., quoted from the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit).[35] This structure is also attested in the late offshoots of Middle Arabic: *jamīʿu -l-qurā -l-wāqiʿati fī dāʾiratin qarībatin bi-thalāthi sāʿātin ʿani -l-mawāqiʿi -llatī yamurru bi-hā ʿaskaru -l-faransawiyyati fa-wājibun ʿalayhā ʾan tursila* . . . "All the villages which are located in a periphery closer than three hours from the places where the French army passes, it is their duty to send . . ." (The first ordinance addressed to the Egyptian people by Napoleon, in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Shināwī and Jalāl Yaḥyā, *Wathāʾiq wa nuṣūṣ*, 498, l. 10) *fa-* may even follow a short noun phrase, e.g.: *kullu mriʾin fa-la-hu rizqun sa-yablughuhu* "every man has livelihood that will reach him (Brockelmann II, 442–3, quoted from Zajjājī, *ʾAmālī*). For more examples cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 372–3, § 182, 10.

2.4 *Sentence adverbials in front extraposition*

This category includes sentences beginning with adverbials which refer to the whole sentence and are followed by *fa-*, e.g.: *li-dhālika fa-ʾinnī* "therefore I . . .". J. Blau has lately dedicated to this construction (as well as similar constructions in Hebrew and Arabic) a whole monograph, in which he shows that this structure is attested in Classical Arabic (CA) when the comment starts with the imperative but is extended in later layers of Arabic, particularly in MSA.[36] Yet contrary to the statement that adverbials in this position "are employed frequently not only preceding orders but in *every combination*" (the emphasis is mine, N.K.),[37] it is worthy to note that *fa-* occurs mainly before non-verbal elements (namely substantives and particles such as *ʾinna, qad, sa-*, etc.), and is extremely rare before the perfect and indicative forms of the verb. Thus, from among the plethora of

[35] The Arab grammarians classify clauses of this kind as conditionals (cf. § 2.5.1, 363–364 below). Compare with Biblical Hebrew *ʾăsher yakē ʾet-kiryat-sēfer u-ləkhādā wə-nātattī lō ʿakhsā bittī lə-ʾishshā* "He that smiteth Kirjath-sefer, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife" (Jos *15*:16), where *wāw* exhibits a similar function to that of the Arabic *fa-* (cf. Joüon, § 176).

[36] Cf. Blau, *Adverbials*, 53, n. 1; 55–63, § 3:1:2.

[37] Ibid., 53, n. 1.

examples adduced by Blau,[38] I have not noted even one (!) case of *fa-* preceding the perfect in MSA, and only two cases in Middle Arabic (one in Christian Arabic and one in Judaeo Arabic). Furthermore, in MSA, *fa-* is frequently missing when sentence adverbials in frontal position are followed by the perfect[39] or the indicative form of the verb.[40] As we have seen with regard to the perfect, the occurrence of *fa-* before the indicative is quite rare. Thus, in Blau's corpus I have noted only one case of *fa-* preceding the indicative in MSA, and four cases in Judaeo Arabic (JA). Hence, if separation of the topic from its comment is aimed to remove the contrast between the psychological and grammatical structure,[41] it implies that this contrast is weaker in Arabic when the comment starts with the perfect or indicative forms of the verb and is stronger when it is

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[38] Ibid., 53–63, § 3:1.

[39] The following examples should suffice to prove our point *wa-li-hādhā: wa-li-hādhā ra'aynā*... "therefore we saw..." (al-Hilāl, 74, col. 1, l. 4); *wa-li-hādhā kāna lā budda*... "therefore it is inevitable that..." (ibid., 79, col. 2, l. 21); *wa-li-hādhā -ntahā 'ilā 'anna*... "therefore he concluded that..." (ibid., 82, col. 1, l. 14 n.b.). *wa-li-dhālika: wa-li-dhālika xalaqati -l-ʿālama* "Therefore it created the world" (ibid., 81, col. 1, l. 2 n.b.); *wa-hākadhā: wa-hākadhā faqadatī -d-dīmuqrāṭiyyatu -lishtirākiyyatu*... "thus the socialistic democracy lost..." (ibid., 75, col. 2, l. 7); *wa hākadhā furiḍat ʿalā -l-bilādi wiṣāyatun*... "Thus a... tutelage was imposed on the country" (ibid., 86, col. 2, l. 3 n.b.); *wa-min hunā: wa min hunā kānat wizāratu nūbār mas'ūlatan*... "hence N's administration was responsible..." (ibid., 87, col. 1, l. 16). *wa-min thamma: wa-min thamma kānat 'anbā'u hādhihi -l-ḥarbi*... "hence the news of this war were..." (ibid., 86, col. 1, l. 16).

[40] The following examples show that *fa-* is quite often missing when the comment is initiated by the indicative verb: *li-dhālika: li-dhālika ta'tī aʿmāluhu mutanāqiḍatan* "therefore his works come out inconsistent" (ibid., 27, col. 1, l. 17). *li-hādhā: wa-li-hādhā taxūḍu hādhihi n-nuẓumu -r-ra'smāliyyatu maʿrakatahā*... "therefore these capitalistic regimes rush into battle..." (ibid., 71, col. 1, l. 17); *li-hādhā tajiduhu*... "therefore you find him..." (ibid., 85, col. 2, l. 7). *wa-hākadhā: wa -hākadhā taḥmilu -l-mārksiyyatu*... "Thus Marxism carries..." (ibid., 77, col. 1, l. 3 n.b.); *wa-hākadhā yattaḍiḥu 'annahu*..." "And thus it becomes obvious that" (ibid., 68, col. 2, l. 12 n.b.); *wa-hākadhā yakshifu lāskī*... "Thus L reveals..." (ibid., 81, col. 1, l. 16 n.b.). *wa-min hunā: wa min hunā najidu 'anna*..." therefore we find that..." (ibid., 53, col. 2, l. 14). *wa-min thamma: wa min thamma yaḥduthu fī -l-mujtamaʿi*... *-ttiḥādun* "hence harmony occurs in... society" (ibid., 81, col. 2, l. 11 n.b.). *wa-min hādhā: wa min hādhā yattaḍiḥu* "And from this it becomes evident" (ibid., 85, col. 2, l. 1). *wa-ʿalā ḍaw'i hādhā: wa-ʿalā ḍaw'i hādhā nastaṭīʿu*... "And in the light of this we can..." (ibid., 47, l. 7). *wa-bi-ṣifatin ʿāmmatin: wa-bi-ṣifatin ʿāmmatin tartabiṭu nash'atu*... "In general the rise... is connected with..." (ibid., 61, col. 1, l. 12). *fa-* is also frequently missing when the comment is initiated by the negative *lā* followed by the indicative, e.g.: *wa-li-hādhā lā yanbaghī 'an*... "Therefore we should not..." (ibid., 45 l. 9 n.b.); *wa-ʿalā hādhā -l-'sāsi lā yumkinu*... "According to this it is impossible..." (ibid., 83, col. 2, l. 4 n.b.); *bi-raghmi -l-ʿadadi*... *lā tazālu -s-sayṭaratu*... "in spite of the... number... the power is still..." (ibid., 52, col. 1, l. 5).

[41] As suggested by Blau, *Adverbials*, 6.

initiated by other elements such as substantives, pronouns, prepositional phrases or particles such as *ʾinna, qad, sa-*.

2.5 *Adverbial clauses in front extraposition*

Adverbial clauses-topics require the occurrence of *fa-* under syntactical conditions similar to those that determine its occurrence after sentence adverbials-topics. Thus, in this category too, the occurrence of *fa-* is most common when the comment is initiated by the imperative or non-verbal elements, and is extremely rare when the comment starts with the perfect or indicative forms of the verb. Whereas CA attests to this structure mainly in conditional clauses (where this phenomenon has been long recognized), and marginally in temporal clauses,[42] later layers, and especially MSA, attest to an increasingly extensive usage of this structure even with adverbial clauses of cause, purpose, concession, comparison, etc. This difference is due to the increasing usage of hypotactic structures in later layers relative to the more common paratactic structures in Pre-Classical and CA. Adverbial clauses are thus less common in CA than in MSA, and when they do occur in CA, it is generally not in frontal position but rather after their main clauses.[43] In MSA this structure is more common in journalistic style than in *belles lettres*, and is especially common in articles and polemic works.

The fact that this structure of adverbial clauses is very common in MSA is also manifested by the rich stock of conjunctions which it has evolved to introduce these clauses. Some of these conjunctions are not attested at all in CA, while others have gained new meanings. The most prominent trend is that conjunctions introducing temporal clauses often introduce clauses of cause as well.[44]

I would now like to present a short survey of different adverbial clauses in frontal position followed by the comment marker *fa-*. This survey consists of representative structures and does not attempt to arrive at completeness. The various clauses are classified according to the traditional categories. However, this classification, which is based mainly on semantic grounds, often falls short. Thus, due to

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[42] Cf. § 2.5.2 below.

[43] Excluding conditional clauses and temporal clauses such as *lammā* and *ʾidhā*, in which the regular order is adverbial clause in initial position, and main clause in final position.

[44] See also p. 59 below.

the semantic changes mentioned above, clauses introduced by the same conjunction may be classified under two different categories of adverbial clauses, and quite often it is even impossible to determine whether a certain clause is a clause of time, cause, etc. To overcome this shortcoming, I have classified the clauses according to the more regular usage of the introducing conjunctions, and have supplied references to other categories of clauses where these conjunctions occur.

2.5.1 *Conditional clauses as topics*

J. Haiman has shown in his above mentioned article that in various languages the protasis-apodosis relation in conditional sentences is the one of topic-comment. His argumentation is based on semantic as well as formal structural features in different languages, which show the same morpho-syntactical features in topic constructions and conditionals. This presentation gives us a better insight into the phenomenon of conditional sentences in which the relation between protasis-apodosis is not one of condition according to the logical definition, but rather the protasis sets the background for the apodosis. I refer here to sentences such as "If I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor", labelled by O. Jespersen "pseudo-conditions".[45] In Arabic, the phenomenon of "pseudo-conditions" has attracted the attention of the Arab grammarians,[46] as well as modern Western scholars.[47] The latter often refer to it as "sentences with a shift", or as conditional sentences with a "logical break".[48]

The perception of the protasis-apodosis relation as a topic-comment relation gets further evidence through structures exhibited in Arabic conditionals. The latter attest to protases introduced by the topic marker *ʾammā* "as to",[49] and in numerous cases the apodosis is introduced by the comment marker *fa-*, the occurrence of *fa-* being determined under conditions similar to those determining its occurrence in other topic-comment constructions.[50] It is of interest to note

[45] Jespersen, IV, 133.

[46] Cf. Gätje, 157ff.

[47] Cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Ver.*, 703–7; idem, *Ar. Synt.*, 500–2; Brockelmann, II, 645 ff.; Tietz, *Bedingungssatz und Bedinungsausdruck im Koran*, 9–14; idem, "Bedingungssätze mit Verschiebung", 78–86; Lewin, 264–70; Denz, 37–45; Gätje, 148–186.

[48] In doing so they followed Reckendorf's terminology (cf. Reckendorf, loc. cit.).

[49] Cf. below the clauses introduced by *ʾin, man, law, ʾidhā*.

[50] Cf. § 2.4. above.

here that the Arab grammarians were aware of the common origin of *fa-* introducing the apodoses of conditional clauses and the one occurring in other topic-comment constructions. But since this structure was most frequently exhibited in conditional sentences, they classified under the term "conditionals" different categories which do not fall within the logical definition of the term. Thus they referred to a "conditional meaning" in *ʾammā* "as to",[51] and classified under the category of conditional sentences different types of sentences which share syntactical structures similar to those exhibited by conditionals. This includes sentences initiated by *man* "who, whoever" (generally used as subject clauses); *mā* "what", *mahmā* "whatever" (generally initiating object clauses); *ḥaythu* "where", *ḥaythumā* "wherever", *ʾayna* "where", *ʾaynamā* "wherever" (generally initiating clauses of place); *kayfa* "how", *kayfamā* "however", *ʾannā* "in whatever way" (generally initiating clauses of manner).[52]

It is noteworthy that conditional sentences which originally did not follow the common structure of conditionals, often tend to adopt the stereotyped pattern of marking the comment by *fa-* rather than by *la-*.[53] It is also noteworthy that *ʾidhā*, which in Classical Arabic generally initiates clauses of time, is frequently attested in Modern Standard Arabic as introducing conditional clauses with no time reference, and even seems to replace *ʾin* as the most common conditional particle.[54]

The examples given do not represent all the different sentences classified as conditionals. I purposely do not adduce examples of the most common types, since those are thoroughly treated in the standard Arabic grammars.

ʾin

The syntactical conditions for the occurrence of *fa-* after conditional clauses initiated by *ʾin* "if" are thoroughly discussed and illustrated in Arabic grammars. Therefore we will confine ourselves to illustrate how the conditional clause may be formally marked as topic by the topic marker *ʾammā* "as to", e.g.:

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[51] Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī al-labīb*, s.v. *ʾammā*; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 370, n. 4.
[52] Cf. Wright, II, 14.
[53] For these conditionals cf. § 5.4 below.
[54] Thus an occasional survey of 10 pages in *Karmel* I, 55–65, revealed 5 cases of *ʾidhā* versus O of *ʾin*.

fa-ʾammā ʾin kāna mina -l-muqarrabīna fa-rawḥun wa-rayḥānun wa-jannatu naʿīmin wa-ʾammā ʾin kāna min ʾaṣḥābi -l-yamīni fa-salāmun la-ka min ʾaṣḥābi -l-yamīni wa-ʾammā ʾin kāna mina -l-mukadhdhibīna -ḍ-ḍāllīna fa-nuzulun min ḥamīmin "Then, if he be of those brought nigh the Throne, there shall be repose and ease, and a Garden of Delight; and if he be a Companion of the Right, peace be upon thee, Companion of the Right; but if he be of them that cried lies, and went astray, there shall be a hospitality of boiling water" (Qur'ān, *56*:88–93). This structure is attested in MSA as well:

fa-ʾammā ʾin quddimati -l-masraḥiyyatu li-tuqraʾa, fa-qad yakūnu -l-ʾawlā ʾan . . . "And if the play is presented for reading, it is more appropriate that . . ." (S. Somekh, Lughat al-ḥiwār fī ṣiyāghatayni, 42, l. 10 n.b., quoted from M. Taymūr. *Dirāsāt fī -l-qiṣṣah wa-l-masraḥ).*

man

Clauses initiated by *man* "whoever" generally follow the regular patterns of conditionals with regard to the occurrence of the comment marker *fa-*. Therefore we will restrict ourselves to cases where the protasis is formally marked as topic by *ʾammā* "as to". This structure is rather common in the Qur'ān: *fa-ʾammā man tāba wa-ʾāmana wa-ʿamila ṣāliḥan fa-ʿasā ʾan yakūna mina -l-mufliḥīna* "But as for him who repents, and believes, and works righteousness, haply he shall be among the prosperers" (Qur'ān, *28*:67); *ʾammā man ẓalama fa-sawfa nuʿadhdhibuhu . . . wa-ʾammā man ʾāmana wa-ʿamila ṣāliḥan fa-la-hu jazāʾani -l-ḥusnā* "As for the evildoer, him we shall chastise . . . but as for him who believes, and does righteousness, he shall receive as recompense the reward most fair" (ibid., *18*:88–9); *fa-ʾammā man ʾūtiya kitābahu bi-yamīnihi fa-yaqūlu . . . wa-ʾammā man ʾūtiya kitābahu bi-shimālihi fa-yaqūlu . . .* "Then as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall say . . . but as for him who is given his book in his left hand, he shall say . . ." (ibid., *69*:19–25); *fa-ʾammā man ṭaghā . . . fa-ʾinna -l-jaḥīma hiya -l-maʾwā wa-ʾammā man xāfa maqāma rabbihi . . . fa-ʾinna -l-jannata hiya -l-maʾwā* "then as for him who was insolent . . ., surely Hell shall be the refuge. But as for him who feared the Station of his Lord . . ., surely Paradise shall be the refuge" (ibid., *79*:37–41).[55]

[55] See also: Qur'ān, *80*:5–10; *84*:7–11; *92*:5–10; *101*:6–9. *ʾammā* also introduces substantival relative clauses initiated by *mā* "whatever" (ibid., 13:19), and *al-ladhīna* "those who" (ibid., *2*:26; 3–7; *3*:56–7; *3*:107; *4*:172; *4*:174; *9*:125–6; *11*:107–9; *30*:15–6; *32*:19–20; *45*:29–30.

ḥaythumā

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

ḥaythumā tastamiddu -l-ḥukūmatu sulṭatahā mina -l-ghaniyyi, sawāʾan ʾa-kānat ʾaqalliyyatan ʾam ʾaghlabiyyatan, fa-ʾinnahu ḥukmu -l-ʾūlījarkiyyati "Wherever the government derives its power from the rich ones, no matter whether it is a minority or a majority, it is the regime of oligarchy" (al-Hilāl, 46, l. 1).

la-ʾin

Conditional sentences introduced by *la-ʾin* are unique insofar as their apodoses generally follow the pattern of the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) rather than the pattern characteristic of conditional apodoses. Consequently its apodosis-comment clause is generally introduced by *la-* rather than by the regular comment marker *fa-*.[56] Yet all layers of Arabic attest to the occurrence of *fa-* in the apodoses of *la-ʾin*, thus following the general pattern of conditional clauses. The occurrence of *fa-* has been noted when the apodosis does not start with the verb, e.g.:

fa- preceding a subject pronoun

wa-llāhi la-ʾin jāʾati -l-ʾaʿājimu bi-l-ʾaʿmāli wa-jiʾnā bi-ghayri ʿamalin fa-hum ʾawlā bi-muḥammadin "By God, if the non-Arabs bring foreward with them (pious) deeds, and we bring forward no (pious) deed, they will be worthier of M." (Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 213, 2).

fa- preceding *ʾinnamā*

wa-la-ʾin najawta fa-ʾinnamā hiya raḥmatu -l-maliki -r-raḥīmi "And if you be saved, it is only the mercy of the Merciful Lord" (Abū-l-ʿAtāhiyah, 27, l. 3).

fa- preceding the negative *mā*

fa-lā-ʿamrī la-ʾin kunnā ʾinnamā nuqātilu -n-nāsa fa-mā bi-nā min ḍaʿfin ʿanhum wa-la-ʾin kunnā ʾinnamā nuqātilu -llāha ka-mā yazʿumu muḥammadun fa-mā li-ʾaḥadin bi-llāhi min ṭāqatin "And by my life, if we fight only against people, we have no weakness against them, and if we fight against God, as M. claims, then nobody has power against God" (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, I, 621, l. 18).[57]

In MSA the usage of *la-ʾin* clauses seems to be more restricted.

[56] Cf. Kinberg, *la-ʾin*, § a, and 406–407 below.

[57] For more examples exhibiting this structure, cf. ibid.

Here too, the occurrence of *fa-* is attested when the apodosis does not start with the verb:

fa- preceding a noun

la-ʾin kuntu qad nasītu tanbīhaka fa-ʿudhrī ʾannī... "If I forgot your warning, my justification is that I..." (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Bayna -l-qaṣrayn*, 46. l. 2 n.b.).

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-la-ʾin kāna mina -l-wāḍiḥi ʾanna kathīran min ʾaḥāsīsi -sh-shāʿiri tujāha -ṭ-ṭabīʿati wa-nfiʿālātihi bi-muʾaththarātihā lam tajid majālan li-l-ʾifṣāḥi ʿanhā fa-ʾinna -l-ḥudūda wa-l-quyūda -l-ʿāmmata... "And if it is clear that much of the poet's feeling towards nature and his stimulation by its influence did not find a place to express them, the general limits and restrictions..." (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 88, l. 7 n.b., quoted from G. Von Grunebaum, *al-istijābah li-ṭ-ṭabīʿah fī -sh-shiʿri -l-ʿarabī*).

law

Hypothetical conditionals initiated by *law* generally mark their comment clause by *la-*.[58] The occurrence of *fa-* in these sentences is extremely rare in Classical Arabic,[59] but seems to be rather common in MSA.[60] It is noteworthy that the topic clause may be formally marked by *ʾammā*. The topic clause is often pronominalized in the comment clause by *ʾidhan*.[61]

fa- preceding the imperative

ʾayyuhā -n-nāsu law ʾatawkum fa-badaw bi-ghayrikum fa-qātiluhum "O people, if they come to you and begin with others, fight with them" (Ṭabarī, II/1, 53, l. 14).

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[58] Cf. 407–9 below.

[59] According to Trumpp, 355, this structure occurs in a later more vulgar style.

[60] Cf. also Blau, *Observations on syntactic trends*, 164, § 5.8.2, and Beeston's response in *Some points of Arabic syntax*, 58. According to Blau, "in the construction *law*... *fa-ʾinna* "the apodosis of *law* is opened by *fa* rather than by *la*". Yet, to the best of my knowledge, *la-* is not attested before *ʾinna* (cf. 401–2 below), so that *la-* can not occur in the place of *fa-* in this construction. When the apodosis of *law* is initiated by *ʾinna*, CA uses an asyndetic apodosis (cf. Kinberg, *Hypothetical conditionals*, § 3.1.10), and this is also the case after *la-ʾin* clauses (cf. 406 below, and n. 118).

[61] For the phenomenon of pronominalization of topic adverbial clauses, cf. p. 355 above.

fa- preceding a subject pronoun
wa-law kāna -l-ʾamru ka-dhālika fa-naḥnu ʾidhan lam nara . . . "And if the thing were like this, then we have never seen . . ." (Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, 234, 10 n.b.).

fa- preceding a demonstrative pronoun
fa-law salabanī ḥurriyyatī fa-dhālika yaʿnī . . . "For should he deprive me of my freedom, this would mean . . ." (al-Hilāl, 26, col. 2. l. 23).

fa- preceding *hal*
law ʾanna -l-ʾamra ka-dhālika fa-hal kāna mina -l-mafrūḍi ʾan . . . "If this were the case, would one suppose that . . ." (ibid., 80, col. 1, l. 9).

fa- preceding *ʾinna*
wa-law naẓartu ʾilā wāqiʿī . . . fa-ʾinnanī wa-bi-kulli suhūlatin ʾastaṭīʿu . . . "And if I observe my reality . . . I can very easily . . ." (N. al-Qāsim, *Wāqiʿ al-durūz*, 218, l. n.b.).

fa- preceding *sa-*
law . . . fa-sa-yakūnu qad ʾathbatnā "If . . ., the result will be that we have already proved" (Blau, *Observations on syntactic trends*, 177, § 7.7, quoted from Maḥfūẓ, *al-ʿAsal*).

fa- preceding the indicative
law yanhamiru mina -s-samāʾi saylun fa-yaktasiḥu -s-safḥa wa-yanqaḍḍu ʿalā -l-mamarri fa-yughriqu -l-ḥārata! "If a flood should pour down from Heaven and overflow the foot of the mountain and rush against the pass, it would drown the neighborhood!" (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 129, l. 3).

ḥattā law
Concessive clauses of this kind may be followed by *fa-*. I have noted the occurrence of *fa-* before *ʾinna*:

wa-ḥattā law sallamnā bi-ʾanna -l-maqṣūda min ʿibāratihi huwa bi-l-fiʿli mā nafaynāhu ʾānifan fa-ʾinna hādhā . . . "Even if we accept that his words actually mean what we have previously denied, then this . . ." (Kh. Athamina, 54, l. 10).

2.5.2 *Temporal clauses as topics*
Temporal sentences often exhibit a topicalization of the time clause by placing it in frontal position preceding its comment main clause. The latter is often preceded by the comment marker *fa-*. The conditions for the occurrence of *fa-* are similar to those exhibited in other topic-comment constructions, namely when the comment does not start with the perfect or indicative verb. It is interesting to note that like other topic-comment constructions (referred above as "casus

pendens") the topic temporal clause is often pronominalized in its comment main clause by *yawma'idhin, idh,* and *'idhā*. The last two are generally regarded as *fujā'iyyah* indicating something unexpected.[62] But if our interpretation is right, *'idh* and *'idhā* occur in these constructions in their original meaning namely "then". As shown with regard to conditionals, the topic temporal clause too may be formally marked by the topic marker *'ammā* "as to". This is more common with *'idhā* clauses which imply a conditional meaning in addition to the temporal signification. This phenomenon is extremely rare, however, with "purely" temporal clauses, and has been noted only in *'idh* and *ḥīna* clauses.

It is of interest to note here that conjunctions introducing time clauses often initiate clauses with other implications as well. Thus *'idh* and *'idhā* frequently initiate conditional clauses; the conjunctions *lammā* "when", *ṭālamā, mā dāma* "as long as" often introduce clauses of cause;[63] *baynā, baynamā, fī ḥīni* may mark contrast (see also Blau, *Syntactic trends*, § 6.3; idem, *Observations on syntactic trends*, § 6.3).

'idh

'ammā marking the topic clause

'ammā 'idh taḥawwaltum 'an dhālika fa-lā 'arā "as you turn away from this, I do not see" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 541, § 270, 2 quoted from Ṭabarī); *'ammā 'idh sa'altumūnī 'anhu fa-'innahu kāna* ... "If you ask me about him, he was ..." (Brockelmann, II, 596). See also Spitaler, n. 5 to Nöldeke, 109.

fa- preceding the imperative

wa-'idhi -'tazaltumūhum wa-mā ya'budūna 'illā -llāha fa-'wū 'ilā -l-kahfi "So when you have gone apart from them and that they serve, excepting God, take refuge in the Cave" (Qur'ān, *18*:16); *fa-'idh lam taf'alū wa-tāba -llāhu 'alaykum fa-'aqīmū ṣ-ṣalāta* "If you do not so, and God turns again unto you, then perform the prayer" (ibid., *58*:13).

fa- preceding a demonstrative pronoun

fa-'idh lam ya'tū bi-sh-shuhadā'i fa-'ūlā'ika 'inda -llāhi ... "But since they did not bring the witnesses, in God's sight they are ..." (ibid., *24*:13).

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[62] Cf. Wright, I, 283–4, § 362(b).

[63] The same phenomenon is exhibited in English by conjunctions such as "since" and "as". For causal sentences introduced by *mā dāma*, cf. also Blau, *Observations on syntactic trends*, § 5.13.

fa- preceding the particle *sa-*
wa-ʾidh lam yahtadū bi-hi fa-sa-yaqūlūna "And since they are not guided by it, they will say" (ibid., *46*:11).
fa- missing before the perfect
ʾidh qāla la-hu rabbuhu ʾaslim qāla . . . "When his Lord said to him 'surrender', he said . . ." (ibid., 2:131); *ʾidh qālū li-nabiyyin la-humu -bʿath la-nā malikan nuqātil fī sabīli -llāhi qāla* . . . "When they said to a Prophet of theirs 'Raise up for us a king, and we will fight in God's way', he said . . ." (ibid., *2*:246).[64]
fa- missing before the negative *mā*
ʾidh yatalaqqā -l-mutalaqqiyāni ʿani -l-yamīni wa-ʿani -sh-shimāli qaʿīdun mā yalfiẓu min qawlin . . . "When the two angels meet together, sitting one on the right and one on the left, not a word he utters . . ." (ibid., *50*:17).
In MSA: *fa-* preceding *ʾinna*
wa-ʾidh taṣduru hādhihi -l-masraḥiyyatu fī kitābin maṭbūʿin fa-ʾinnanā naʾmalu ʾidhan ʾan . . . "and as these plays are published in a printed book, we hope also that . . ." (S. Moreh, Introduction to N. Samīr, *al-Junūḥ wa-linsiyāb*, 6, l. 12 n.b.).

ʾidhā
In CA *ʾidhā* generally introduces clauses of time or condition, whereas in MSA it generally introduces conditional clauses, even ones with no time relevance. For this phenomenon in CA cf. Spitaler, n. 1 to Nöldeke, 111.
ʾammā preceding the topic clause
wa-ʾammā ʾidhā mā -btalāhu fa-qadara ʿalayhi rizqahu fa-yaqūlu "But when he tries him and stints for him his provision, then he says" (Qurʾān, 89:16); *fa-ʾammā ʾidhā kāna ʾaḥadunā dhā ʿaynin wa-l-ʾāxaru laysa dhā ʿaynin fa-ghayru jāʾizin ʾan* . . . "But when one of us has an eye and the other does not, it is not permitted to . . ." (Jāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah*, 121, l. 3); *ʾammā ʾidhā naẓarnā ilā -l-jadwali bi-t-tijāhin ʿamūdiyyin fa-sawfa nulāḥiẓu ʾanna* . . . "If we look at the chart vertically, we will perceive that . . ." (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 86, l. 11). See also Spitaler, n. 4 to Nöldeke, 109.

[64] In this case the main clause initiated by the perfect is not preceded by *fa-*, even though it follows a long adverbial clause, *fa-* is also missing before the perfect in *7*:163: *15*:52.

fa- preceding the imperative
ʾidhā nūdiya li-ṣ-ṣalāti min yawmi -l-jumuʿati fa-sʿaw ʾilā dhikri -llāhi "when proclamation is made for prayer on the Day of Congregation, hasten to God's remembrance" (Qur'ān, *62*:9).

fa- preceding the negatives *lā* and *mā*
wa-ʾidhā raʾā -lladhīna ẓalamū -l-ʿadhāba fa-lā yuxaffafu ʿanhum "and when those who did wrong see the chastisement, it will not be relieved for them" (ibid., *16*:85); *ʾidhā nakaḥtumu -l-muʾmināti thumma ṭallaqtumūhunna min qabli an tamassūhunna fa-mā ʿalayhinna min ʿiddatin taʿtaddūnahā* "when you marry believing women and then divorce them before you touch them, you have no period to reckon against them" (ibid., *33*:49).

fa- preceding prepositional phrases
thumma ʾidhā massakumu -ḍ-ḍurru fa-ʾilayhi tajʾarūna "then when harm hits you, it is to Him that you pray fervently" (ibid., *16*:53); *fa-ʾidhā -nshaqqati -s-samāʾu fa-kānat wardatan ka-d-dihāni fa-bi-ʾayyi ʾālāʾi rabbikumā tukadhdhibāni* "And when heaven is split asunder, and turns crimson like red leather—O which of your Lord's bounties will you and you deny?" (ibid., *55*:37–8); *wa-ʾidhā mā ʾunzilat sūratun fa-minhum man yaqūlu* "Whenever a sura is sent down to thee, some of them say" (ibid., *9*:125).

fa- preceding *ʾinnamā*
ʾidhā qaḍā ʾamran fa-ʾinnamā yaqūlu la-hu kun fa-yakūnu "When He decrees a thing, He but says to it 'Be', and it is" (ibid., *19*:35).

fa- missing before subject pronouns[65]
wa-ʾidhā mā ghaḍibū hum yaghfirūna "and when they are angry, they forgive" (ibid., *42*:37); *wa-lladhīna ʾidhā ʾaṣābahumu -l-baghyu hum yantaṣirūna* "and who, when insolence visits them, do help themselves" (ibid., *42*:39).

fa- missing before the negatives *mā* and *ʾin*[66]
wa-ʾidhā raʾāka -lladhīna kafarū ʾin yattaxidhūnaka ʾillā huzuʾan "When the unbelievers behold thee, they take thee only for mockery" (ibid., *21*:36); *wa-ʾidhā tutlā ʿalayhim ʾāyātunā bayyinātin mā kāna ḥujjatuhum ʾillā*

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[65] Cf. Wright, II, 346. According to the observation made there, this structure does occur in poetry, but is rare in prose.

[66] This structure is common in conditional sentences initiated by *la-ʾin*. For other cases where the comment main clause of *ʾidhā* clauses exhibits the same structure as that of *la-ʾin* clause (namely the same structure exhibited in the complement of the oath), cf. pp. 97–98 below.

'an qālū "And when our signs are recited to them, clear signs, their only argument is that they say" (ibid., *45*:24).

In MSA: *fa-* preceding the indicative
wa-'idhā daxala -l-madfa'u fī -n-nizā'i wa-qadhafa ḍidda -l-madāfi'i -l-'āsiyawiyyati bi-qanābila 'ighrīqiyyatin rūmā'iyyatin fa-'axshā mā naxshāhu "and when the canon enters the fight and casts Greek-Roman bombs against the Asian canons, then I fear what we fear" (al-Hilāl, 10, col. 1, l. 10).

fa- preceding *qad* + indicative
fa-'idhā kataba hādhā -l-masraḥiyyu bi-l-lughati -l-fuṣḥā fa-qad yuthīru -ḍ-ḍaḥka "For if this drama writer writes in the literary language, he might cause laughter" (S. Somekh, *Ḥawla lughat al-ḥiwār*, 74, l. 12).

fa- preceding *lā* + indicative
wa-'idhā talāshat fa-lā tastaṭī'u "and when they vanish you can not . . ." (Y. Idris, *al-Bayḍā'*, 15, l. 11).

fa- missing before *qad* + indicative
wa-'idhā 'axadhtu -l-muhimmata 'alā 'ātiqī qad yaḍurru 'amaluhā "and if I were to take this serious matter upon myself, her working (with us) might be harmful" (ibid., 11, l. 1).

ḥattā 'idhā[67]

fa- preceding the perfect
fa-xarajū ḥattā 'idhā kānū 'alā -r-rajī'i . . . fa-ghadarū bi-l-qawmi "and they went out until when they were at R., they betrayed the people" (Brockelmann, II, 669, quoted from Ibn Sa'd).

fa- preceding the conditional particle *'in*
wa-btalū -l-yatāmā ḥattā 'idhā balaghū -n-nikāḥa fa-'in 'ānastum minhum rushdan fa-dfa'ū 'ilayhim 'amwālahum "Test well the orphans, until when they reach the age of marrying, then if you perceive in them right judgement, deliver to them their property" (Qur'ān, *4*:5).

lammā
Adverbial clauses in frontal position initiated by *lammā* and followed by *fa-* are attested in Pre-Classical and Classical Arabic,[68] as well as

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[67] For these clauses followed by *wa-* and *thumma* cf. p. 88 below.
[68] Cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 482, § 253,3; Brockelmann, II, 671; Wright, 291, note; II, 347; Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 192, n. 14.

later layers of Arabic.[69] As will be demonstrated below, the occurrence of *fa-* is generally determined here (as well as in other constructions) by the syntactical structure of the comment main clause, and not by the syntactical structure of the topic adverbial clause.[70] As often happens with other conjunctions introducing time clauses, in MSA *lammā* often initiates clauses of cause as well.

fa- preceding a prepositional phrase

fa-lammā najjāhum ʾilā -l-barri fa-minhum muqtaṣidun "but when He delivers them to the land, some of them adopt a middle position (between belief and infidelity) (Qurʾān, *31*:32).[71]

In Post Classical Arabic the occurrence of *fa-* is quite common, even before the perfect form of the verb:

wa-lammā kāna -l-barbaru bi-l-qurbi minhum wa-laysa baynahum siwā taʿdiyati -l-baḥri wa-yaridu ʿalayhim minhum ṭawāʾifu munḥarifatu -ṭ-ṭibāʿi xārijatun mina -l-ʾawḍāʿi fa-zdādū minhum nufūran "and as the Berbers were close to them, and nothing (separated) between them except crossing the sea, and groups with corrupted character and unnormal manners were reaching them from among them (i.e. from among the Berbers), they became more reserved from them" (Lyons, 22, l. 2, quoted from Ibn Xalikān, *Wafayāt al-ʾaʿyān*);[72] *fa-lammā ʾashraqati -sh-shamsu wa-rtafaʿa -n-nahāru wa-shtadda -l-ḥarru wa-ḥamiyati -r-ramḍāʾu fa-xalaʿa -l-ʾinsānu thiyābahu wa-ḥamalahā ʿalā katifihi min shiddati -l-ḥarri* "and when the sun rose and the day was advanced and the heat was strong and the burning heat was hot, the man took off his clothes and carried them on his shoulder because of the strong heat" (ibid., 5, l. 4, quoted from the Fables of Luqmān); *lammā ḥaḍarat wafātu -sh-shibliyyi fa-qāla*... "when Sh. died, he said..." (al-Suhrawardī, *ʿĀdāb al-murīdīn*, 76, l. 3).

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[69] For MSA cf. Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 99. According to the observation made there, *lammā* clauses in initial position followed by *fa-* are perceived as a "logical theme" (i.e. topics), just like prepositional phrases in frontal position followed by *fa-*.

[70] It has been claimed that *fa-* occurs especially when another clause separates between the *lammā* clause and its main clause (cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 482, § 253, 3).

[71] It is noteworthy that *fa-* here follows a short topic clause with no other elements separating it from its comment main clause.

[72] In this example *fa-* follows a lengthy intervention between the adverbial clause and its main clause. Yet, as we have seen above, *fa-* is also attested after short time clauses.

fa- preceding the negative *lā*
wa-lammā yarji'ūna bi-ka wa-yaḍa'ūna la-ka -l-fūla fa-lā ta'kulhu "and when they bring you back and place beans for you, don't eat it" (Lyons, 7. 1. 6 n.b., quoted from *The Arabian Nights*).
In MSA this structure occurs mainly when *lammā* introduces clauses of cause, and the comment main clause does not start with the perfect or indicative forms of the verb. The topic adverbial clause is sometimes pronominalized by *li-dhā, li-hādhā* "therefore", especially when the adverbial clause is long.
fa- preceding *'inna*
wa-lammā kānat hādhihi -l-'aḥkāmu wa-l-'ādātu bi-mathābati -l-'amlāki -l-mushā'ati li-l-kuttābi -l-muslimīna li-dhā fa-'inna -t-tashābuha lā yadullu . . . "As these rules and customs were as joint property of the Moslem writers, therefore the similarity does not prove . . ." (Suhrawardī, Introduction, 12, l. 1); *wa-lammā kānat barīṭāniyā fī dhālika -l-waqti ta'taqidu 'annahu lā xuṭūrata 'alā maṣāliḥihā min hādhā -n-nashāṭi -l-'amīrikiyyi fa-'innahā lam tu'āriḍhu* "and since Britain believed in that time that there was no jeopardy to its interests from the American activity, it did not oppose it" (al-Hilāl, 16, col. 1, l. 6 n.b.); *wa-lammā kānati -d-dawlatu hiya -l-jamā'atu -l-'ulyā -llatī tashmulu kulla shay'in wa-tuḥīṭu bi-mā 'adāhā, wa-llatī tajidu fīhā -l-jamā'ātu -l-'uxrā fahwāhā wa-ma'nāhā fa-'innahā takūnu ka-dhālika* "And since the state is the top group which comprises everything and encompasses everything else, and in which the other groups find their meaning and significance, it is also . . ." (ibid., 81, col. 1, l. 3).[73]
fa- preceding *qad*
wa-lammā kāna fī ḥālin lā yastaḥibbu ma'ahā kitmāna shay'in mimmā yaṭfū 'alā saṭḥi -l-wa'yi fa-qad qāla . . . "and as he was in a condition in which he did not like to conceal anything rising to the surface of consciousness, he said . . ." (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Bayna -l-qaṣrayn*, 17, l. 21); *wa-lammā kānati -l-mawāḍi'u -llatī 'uṭriyat fīhā lahjatu -l-ḥijāzi 'akthara min mawāḍi'i -l-'iṭrā'i -llatī nālathā lahjatu tamīmin . . . fa-qad takawwana ladā ba'ḍi -l-bāḥithīna -nṭibā'un xāṭi'un* "and since the places in which the dialect of Ḥijāz was extolled were more numerous than the places extolling the dialect of Tamīm . . ., a wrong impression was formed by some scholars" (Kh. Athamina, 51, l. 10); *wa-lammā kānati -l-*

[73] See also al-Hilāl, 83, col. 1, l. 13 n.b.; 85, col. 1, l. 16.

qudratu ʿalā -l-ʾintāji tatawaqqafu fī ʾayyi mujtamaʿin mina -l-mujtamaʿāti ʿalā -stitbābi -s-salāmi, fa-qad ʾaṣbaḥat muhimmatu -d-dawlati... "And since the ability to produce is dependent in any society upon the stability of peace, it becomes the task of the state..." (al-Hilāl, 83, col. 1, l. 1).[74]

fa- preceding a subject pronoun

wa-lammā kāna bi-dūni xitānin fa-huwa masīḥiyyun "and since he is without circumcision, he is Christian" (I. Kh. Sakīk, *Sharīṭ al-dhikrayāt ʿan Ghazzah,* 116, l. 6 n.b.).

fa- missing before the perfect

I have noted this structure only in time sentences, e.g.: *fa-lammā xaraja baʿdahā, wajada ḍābiṭa būlīs* "and when he came out after it, he found a police officer" (al-Hilāl, 55, col. 1, l. 20); *wa-lammā kānati -th-thawratu min ʾasfala qad ʾaxfaqat fī ʿāmi 1874, baraza -l-ʾirhābu*... "and after (or perhaps "since") the revolution from below failed in 1874, terrorism emerged..." (ibid., 55, col. 2, l. 8).[75]

fa- missing before the indicative

wa-lākin lammā kāna -l-ʾintāju wa-liqtiṣādu yakūnāni fī -l-ḥaqīqati maḍmūna -l-ḥayāti -lijtimāʿiyyati bi-wajhin ʿāmmin, yuṣbiḥu wāḍiḥan ʾanna "but since the production and economy are actually the purport of socialistic life in general, it becomes clear that..." (ibid., 69, col. 1, l. 1).[76]

fa missing before *lam* + apocopate

wa-lammā kāna -l-hadafu -r-raʾīsiyyu minhā jamīʿan—ʾaw min ʾaghlabiyyatihā -s-sāḥiqati—huwa mujarradu -listīlāʾi ʿalā -s-sulṭati ʾishbāʿan li-shahwati ḥukmin tatamallaku nufūsa farīqin mina -s-sāsati ʾawi -l-qādati ʾawi -l-mughāmirīna, li-hādhā lam tusfir ʿan... "And since the main purpose of all of them—or rather of their great majority—was only seizure of power to satisfy a greed for power possessing the souls of part of the politicians or the commanders or the adventurers, therefore they did not produce..." (ibid., 51, col. 2, l. 6 n.b.).

ʿindamā

Adverbial clauses initiated by *ʿindamā* are rather rare in CA, but are frequently attested in later layers of Arabic, and especially in MSA.

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[74] See also ibid., 87, col. 2, l. 9.

[75] See also ibid., 88, col. 2, l. 3 n.b.; 89, col. 1, l. 6; Somekh, *Lughat al-ḥiwār,* 82, l. 11 n.b.

[76] Note the occurrence of *kāna* which is common in nominal conditional clauses.

fa- preceding *qad*
ʾillā ʾannahu ʿindamā ḍaraba -l-ʾamthilata -l-fiʿliyyata li-mā ʾaḥdathathu -l-majāʿatu fa-qad ʾaẓhara . . . "but when he gave concrete examples to what had been caused by the famine, he revealed . . ." (Ḥannā, *ʾIghāthah al-ʾummah*, 59, 9 n.b.), *wa-lākin ʿindamā wajada ʾan laysa kullu -l-miṣriyyīna yamlikūna -dh-dhahaba wa-l-fiḍḍata, fa-qadi -ktafā bi-l-qawli* . . . "but when he found out that not all the Egyptians possessed gold and silver, he contented himself saying . . ." (ibid., 64, l. 5 n.b.).
fa- preceding the imperative
ʿindamā taxruju ʾilā -l-ghayṭi wa-yajʿalūna ʿalā raqabatika -n-nīra fa-rqud "When you go out to the field and they put the yoke on your neck, lie down" (Lyons, 7, l. 8 n.b., quoted from *The Arabian Nights*).
fa- preceding subject pronouns
wa-ʿindamā yadhkuru -l-ʾaḥādītha -n-nabawiyyata -sh-sharīfata wa-l-ʾaqwāla -ṣ-ṣūfiyyata fa-huwa lā yaʾtī bi-l-ʾisnādi "and when he quotes Hadith and Sufi sayings, he does not adduce the *ʾisnād*" (Suhrawardī, Introduction, 13, l. 6); *wa-ʿindamā yaḥmī junūdu -l-ʾimbiryāliyyati -l-bārthinūna fa-hum fī -l-ḥaqīqati yajʿalūna* . . . "and when the soldiers of the empire defend the Parthenon, they actually make" (al-Hilāl, 10, col. 1, l. 12 n.b.).
fa- preceding *ʾinnamā*
wa-ʿindamā ʾataḥaddathu ʿani -l-kādiri -z-zirāʿiyyi -t-tiknīkiyyi fa-ʾinnamā ʾaʿnī . . . "And when I talk about the technical agricultural cadre, I only mean . . ." (ibid., 33, col. 2, l. 3 n.b.).
fa- missing before the perfect
fa- does not occur before the perfect even when the comment clause follows a very long topic clause, e.g.: *wa-ʿindamā -ttasaʿa niṭāqu ḥaqqi -liqtirāʿi, baʿda ʾan taqarrara bi-shaklin ʿāmmin li-jamīʿi -l-muwāṭinīna mina -r-rijāli bi-dūni qaydin ʾaw sharṭin thumma li-jamīʿi -l-muwāṭinīna mina -r-rijāli wa-n-nisāʾi ʿalā -s-sawāʾi, thumma fī majālātin ʾuxrā ghari -l-majāli -l-barlamāniyyi waḥdahu, mithli -n-niqābāti wa-l-jamʿiyyati -t-taʿāwuniyyati wa-l-majlisi -sh-shaʿbiyyi, shaʿara ʾaṣḥābu* . . . "And when the range of free voting became wider, after it had been generally settled without any reservation for all the male citizens, then equally for all the male and female citizens, then in other spheres beside the parliamentary one alone, like the union, the cooperative and the national council, those who have . . . felt . . ." (ibid., 61, col. 1, l. 11 n.b.).[77]

[77] See also al-Hilāl, 13, col. 2, l. 7 n.b.; 17, col. 1, l. 2; 17, col. 1, l. 10 n.b.; 25, col. 2, l. 6; 25, col. 2, l. 13 n.b.; 26, col. 2, l. 11 n.b.; 27, col. 2, l. 13; 61, col. 1, l. 17; 76, col. 1, l. 13.

fa- missing before the indicative
wa-maʿa dhālika fa-ʿindamā nadrusu hādhā -t-tanẓīma yajibu ʾan . . . "Nevertheless when we study this arrangement, we should . . ." (ibid., 68, col. 2, l. 19).

fa- missing before *lam* + apocopate
ʿindamā kuntu shābban lam ʾakun ʾajidu man ʾatajāwabu maʿahu "When I was young, I did not find anybody I was in harmony with" (ibid., 26, col. 1, l. 13 n.b.).

fa- missing before *sa-*
wa-ʾannahu ʿindamā tanhāru -d-dawlatu -l-ʿuthmāniyyatu sa-tajidu faransā . . . "and that when the Ottoman state collapses, France will find . . ." (ibid., 14, col. 2, l. 2); *wa-ʿindamā yatimmu -l-qaḍāʾu -n-nihāʾiyyu ʿalā -n-niẓāmi -listiʿmāriyyi wa-yastaqirru -s-salāmu wa-lishtirākiyyatu fī -l-ʾarḍi sa-taḥduthu taḥawwulātun wa-nfijārātun thawriyyatun* "and when the final extermination of the imperialistic regime is accomplished, and peace and socialism are established upon Earth, revolutionary reversals and explosions will occur" (ibid., 77, col. 2, l. 11 n.b.).

fa- missing before *ʾinnamā*
wa-lākinna d-dawlata ʿindamā tuḥāfiẓu ʿalā -l-qānūni wa-tuʾakkidu -n-niẓāma, ʾinnamā tuʾakkidu wa-tadʿamu . . . "but the state when it maintains the law and assures the order only assures and supports . . ." (ibid., 83, col. 1, l. 4).

ḥīna

Sentences introduced by *ḥīna* "when" often exhibit a topic-comment relation between the temporal clause and its main clause. The former may be formally marked by the topic marker *ʾammā*, and the latter is often marked by the comment marker *fa-*.[78]

ʾammā preceding the temporal clause
ʾammā ḥīna yadhhabu kullu qarrin fa-sirbālun xafīfun "as to when the chilliness is all gone, then a light shirt" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 541, § 270, 2 quoted from the *Ḥamāsah*).

fa- preceding *ʾinna*
wa-ḥīna yaḥkumu -l-fuqarāʾu fa-ʾinnahā -d-dīmūqrāṭiyyatu "And when the poor ones rule, it is democracy" (al-Hilāl, 46, l. 3); *fī kathīrin mina -l-ʾaḥyāni, ḥīna yaʿmidu masraḥun mā ʾilā tamthīli nitāji ʾadībin yaktubu -l-fuṣḥā, fa-ʾinnahum yuḍṭarrūna ʾilā* . . . "in many cases, when a certain theater intends to perform the literary production of an author who

[78] For this structure in JA, cf. Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 192, § 306b.

writes literary Arabic, they are forced to . . ." (S. Somekh, *Lughat al-ḥiwār*, 75, l. 5); *wa-ḥattā ḥīna ya'xudhu -l-mu'allifu nafsuhu ʿalā ʿātiqihi tarjamata nitājihi mina -l-fuṣḥā 'ilā -l-ʿāmmiyyati fa-'inna -n-naṣṣayni lā yatashābahāni tamāman* "and even when the author himself takes upon himself to translate his literary production from literary Arabic to colloquial Arabic, the two texts are not completely identical" (ibid., 75, l. 9).

fa- preceding a demonstrative pronoun

wa-n-nasāṭiratu ḥīna -staʿānū bi-n-nufūdhi -l-'injlīziyyi fa-dhālika kāna nāshi'an ʿan . . . "And the Nestorians, when they sought help in the English influence, this was originating out of . . ." (al-Hilāl, 19, col. 1, l. 6 n.b.).

fa- preceding a prepositional phrase

fa-ḥīna yanṭaliqu -l-'adību min mawḍūʿin li-'āxara fī -l-ʿamali -l-'adabiyyi, fa-ʿalayhi . . . "when the writer turns from one subject to another within the literary piece, he has to . . ." (G. Kanazi, *al-Waḥdah -l-ʿuḍwiyyah*, 112, l. 6).

fa- missing before the perfect

wa-ḥīna sāfarat j. 'axadhtu 'ataraddadu ʿalā b. bi-mufradī "And when J. traveled, I began visiting P. frequently by myself" (al-Hilāl, 23, col. 2, l. 5); *wa-ḥīna nashara wilsūn taqrīran ʿani -l-fawḍā -l-māliyyati, hājamat jarīdatu -l-waṭan* . . . "When W. published a report about the financial chaos, the "al-Watan" newspaper attacked . . ." (ibid., 87, col. 2, l. 17).[79]

fa- missing before *lam* + apocopate

wa-ḥīna zurnā b. li- l-marrati -th-thāniyati lam najru' ʿalā . . . "And when we visited P. the second time, we did not dare . . ." (ibid., 23, col. 1, l. 1 n.b.).

fa- missing before the negative *lā* + indicative

wa-l-ḥaqīqatu 'annanā ḥīna nufakkiru baynanā wa-bayna 'anfusinā lā nufakkiru fīmā . . . "The truth is that, when we think on our own, we do not think about . . ." (Y. Idrīs, *al-Bayḍā'*, 9, l. 8).

fa- missing before *'inna*

ḥīna tawaffā -llāhu nabiyyahu 'inna -l-'anṣāra -jtamaʿū "When God took his Prophet unto Him, the Anṣār met together" (Reckendorf, *Synt. Ver.*, 676, quoted from Buxārī).

fī ḥīni

I have noted this structure in MSA, where it initiates a clause of comparison, marking contrast.

[79] See also al-Hilāl, 88, col. 1, l. 1; Idrīs, 16, l. 1.

fa- preceding *ʾinna*
wa-fī ḥīni kunnā narā kalimata "lughah" tuḍāfu ʾilā -smi -l-qabīlati, ka-mā dhakarnā ʾānifan, fa-ʾinnanā narāhā -l-ʾāna . . . "Whereas we saw the word *lughah* used in the construct form with a name of a tribe, as we have mentioned above, we see it now . . ." (Athamina, 57, l. 1).

yawma
The conjunction *yawma* "on the day when" is often attested in the Qur'ān introducing temporal clauses. Qur'ān commentators generally do not regard it as initiating time sentences, but rather as an attribute to time adverbials. Sometimes they imply a missing syntactical part (*taqdīr*) such as *ʾudhkur* "remember", etc.

fa- preceding pronouns
yawma nadʿū kulla ʾunāsin bi-ʾimāmihim fa-man ʾūtiya kitābahu bi-yamīnihi fa-ʾūlāʾika yaqraʾūna kitābahum "On the day when We shall call all men with their record, whoso is given his book in his right hand—those shall read their book (Qur'ān, *17*:71); *wa-yawma yuḥsharu ʾaʿdāʾu -llāhi ʾilā -n-nāri fa-hum yūzaʿūna* "Upon the day when God's enemies are mustered to the Fire, they will be urged" (ibid., *41*:19).

fa- preceding the indicative
wa-yawma yurjaʿūna ʾilayhi fa-yunabbiʾuhum bi-mā ʿamilū "and the day when they shall be returned to Him, He will tell them of what they did" (ibid., *24*:64).

fa- preceding the perfect
wa-yawma yunfaxu fī -ṣ-ṣūri fa-faziʿa man fī -s-samawāti wa-man fī -l-ʾarḍi ʾillā man shāʾa -llāhu wa-kullun ʾatawhu dāxirīna "On the day the Trumpet is blown, terrified will be whosoever is in the heavens and earth, excepting whom God wills, and every one shall come to Him, all utterly abject" (ibid., *27*:87).

fa- missing before the perfect
yawma yajmaʿu -llāhu -r-rusula fa-yaqūlu mādhā ʾujibtum qālū . . . "The day when God shall gather the Messengers and say 'what answer were you given?', they shall say . . ." (ibid., *5*:109).

fa- missing before *ʾinna*
yawma nabṭishu -l-baṭshata -l-kubrā ʾinnā muntaqimūna "Upon the day when We shall assault most mightily, then We shall take Our vengeance" (ibid., *44*:16).

baynā
This structure is attested in CA, but is not common in MSA.

fa- preceding the perfect
baynā rajulun yamshī fa-shtadda ʿalayhi -l-ʿaṭashu "While a man was walking, he became very thirsty" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 473, quoted from Buxārī).
fa- preceding *ʾidhā*
baynāhum bi-ẓ-ẓahri qad jalasū yawman fa-ʾidhā -bnu bishrin fī marākibihi "As they were sitting one day at Ẓ., I.B. showed up in his caravan" (ibid., 474, quoted from the *Ḥamāsah*).

baynamā
This structure is well attested in MSA. It expresses a contrast (like the English "whereas"), or a durative action (like the English "while").
fa- preceding a noun
wa-baynamā -linqilābu huwa natījatu ʾiʿdādin daqīqin min jānibi majmūʿatin ʾaw nuxbatin munaẓẓamatin, fa-th-thawrātu min ʾasfala lam... "Whereas the coup d'état is the result of a painstaking preparation by a group or an organized elite, the revolutions from below were not..." (al-Hilāl, 52, col. 2, l. 16).
fa- preceding *ʾinna*
wa-yajduru bi-dh-dhikri... ʾannahu baynamā najidu fī -l-masraḥiyyati -l-ʾūllā, -llatī kutibat ka-mā dhakarnā bi-l-fuṣḥā -l-basīṭati, shaxṣiyyātin ʾusṭūriyyatan mithla shahriyārā, -l-maliki min "ʾalfi laylatin wa-laylatin", fa-ʾinna -sh-shaxṣiyyāti fī -l-masraḥiyyāti -l-ʾaxīrati hiya... "It is noteworthy... that whereas we find in the first play, which was written as we have mentioned in simple literary Arabic, legendary personalities such as S., the king from *The Arabian Nights*, the personalities in the late plays are..." (Somekh, *Lughat al-ḥiwār*, 83, l. 9 n.b.); *fa-baynamā narā fī -sh-shiʿri ʾanna -l-qāfiyata... fa-ʾinnanā najidu ʾanna...* "Whereas we see that in the poem the rhyme..., we find that..." (R. Drori, *Ḥawla qawāʿid tabaddul al-qāfiyah fi-l-maqāmah*, 11, l. 11).
fa- missing before the perfect
wa-baynamā kānati -l-bawāxiru -l-musallaḥatu -l-barīṭāniyyatu tahbiṭu nahra -l-furāti ṣawba -l-baṣrati kāna mubashshirun ʾinjlīziyyun brūtistāntiyyun yanzilu... "And while the British armed ships were going down the Euphrates towards Basra, an English Protestant missionary was dwelling in..." (al-Hilāl, 15, col. 1, l. 22).

fī-mā
I have noted this structure in MSA, where it may introduce a durative action.

fa- missing before the perfect
wa-fīma huwa munhamikun fī tajdīdi nafsihi sa'alahu ṣāḥibun la-hu "And as he was completely engaged in renewing himself, a friend of his asked him" (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 131, l. 6 n.b.).

mundhu
I have noted this structure in Judaeo Arabic and in MSA.
fa- preceding *lam* + apocopate
bal mundhu ra'aynā . . . fa-lam yabqa -ʿtirāḍ "but since we saw . . . there is no objection left" (Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 249, § 390).
fa- preceding *'inna*
wa-lākin mundhu 'an tuṣbiḥa hādhihi -n-nuẓumu hadafan fī dhātihā wa-ta'xudhu fī-r-rukūdi, fa-'innahā tuthīru ḥatman . . . "But from the time when these regimes become an end for its own sake, and become more and more stagnant, they necessarily arouse . . ." (al-Hilāl, 68, col. 1, l. 16 n.b.).
fa- missing before the perfect
wa-mundhu tamma ta'mīmu juz'in hāmmin mina -l-'arḍi -z-zirāʿiyyati, 'aṣbaḥnā qādirīna ʿalā . . . "And since the nationalization of a considerable part of the arable land was accomplished, we became capable of . . ." (ibid., 30, col. 1. l. 2).

min ladun
I have noted this structure in CA, where *min ladun* may introduce a long adverbial phrase with no finite verb.
fa- preceding *'innamā*
fa-'innī min ladun xurūjī min manzilī 'ilā 'an 'aqruba min bābi ṣāḥibī fa-'innamā naʿlī fī yadī "for since my leaving home till I get near my friend's door, my shoe is only in my hand" (Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-buxalā'*, II, 68, 9).

qabla 'an
Topicalization of time clauses introduced by *qabla 'an* "before" is quite rare. I have not noted it in CA, but MSA occasionally exhibits it. I have not noted the occurrence of the comment marker *fa-* in the following examples.
fa- missing before the indicative
wa-lākin qabla 'an nuḥāwila -stijlā'a hādhā -l-madlūli yajdiru bi-nā -l-'ishāratu 'ilā 'anna . . . "but before we try to clarify this meaning, it is appropriate for us to point that . . ." (Somekh, *al-Muḍāraʿah*, 20, l. 11);

wa-qabla ʾan ʾaftaḥa famī muḥtajjan ʾaw muttahiman taḍaʿu bayna yadayya hadāyā "And before I open my mouth protesting or accusing, she puts presents in front of me" (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 12, l. 5).

fa- missing before a prepositional phrase

qabla ʾan nataṭarraqa ʾilā -t-taʿlīqi ʿalā -l-ʾabyāti -sh-shiʿriyyati fī -l-ʾamthilati -s-sābiqati ʿalaynā ʾan natadhakkara . . . "Before we go into commenting on the verses in the previous examples, we have to bear in mind . . ." (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 92, l. 6 n.b.).

baʿda ʾan

Topicalization of time clauses introduced by *baʿda ʾan* "after" is quite rare, and so is the occurrence of the comment marker *fa-*.

fa- preceding the perfect

wa-baʿda ʾan ḥakama ʿalayhi bi-l-qatli wa-l-mawti fa-jaʿala . . . "and after he had sentenced him to death, he began . . ." (Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 192, § 306, a).

fa- missing before the perfect

wa-baʿda suqūṭi -l-ʾāxirati fī ʾaydī -th-thāʾirīna -staslamati -l-ʾaqālīmu "and after the fall of the latter in the hands of the rebellious, the provinces surrendered" (al-Hilāl, 51, col. 2, l. 19); *wa-baʿda ʾan nāqashu lāskī -n-naẓariyyāti -l-mithāliyyata li-d-dawlati wa-kashafa ʿan zayfihā* . . . *ʾarsā qawāʿida* . . . "And after L. discussed the ideal theory of the state and revealed its falseness, he firmly fixed the foundations of . . ." (ibid., 82, col. 2, l. 13).

ʾilā ʾan

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-ʾilā ʾan taẓhara maxṭūṭatun ʾakmalu li-l-kitābi, fa-ʾinnanā sa-naktafī bi-mā ladaynā "And till a more complete manuscript of the book is discovered, we shall content ourselves with what we have" (I. Geries, Introduction to *al-Radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah*, 99, l. 1).

ṭālamā

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

ṭālamā yakūnu -n-niqāshu ḥawla ʾīrāna ʾaw ʾafghānistāna fa-ʾinna li-l-wilāyāti -l-muttaḥidati qaḍiyyatan maʿa shuʿūbin . . . "as long as the debate is about Iran or Afganistan, the U.S. has a problem with peoples . . ." (*al-Anbāʾ*, 3.6.80, p. 8, col. 7). *wa-ṭālamā ʾanna hādhihi -l-mafāhīma tataṣāraʿu fīmā baynahā min ʾajli -listīlāʾi ʿalā sulṭati -d-dawlati, fa-ʾinna darajata -l-xilāfi* . . . "As these concepts contest against each other for seizure of

power in the state, the degree of contrast..." (al-Hilāl, 83, col. 2, l. 8).

fa- preceding *lā* (*al-nāfiyah li-l-jins*)

wa-ṭālamā ʾanna -l-mujtamaʿa lā yumkinu ʾan yastamirra fī -l-wujūdi ʾillā ʾidhā ʾaḍfaynā ʿalā hādhihi -liltizāmāti ṭābiʿa -l-ʾijbāri, fa-lā budda ʾan... "As society can not continue to exist unless we award these obligations the character of compulsion, it is inevitable that..." (ibid., 80, col. 2, l. 15).

mā (al-daymūmah)

fa- preceding the negatives *lam* and *lā*

mā lam nadaʿi -l-maʿrakata fa-lam nuhzam "As long as we do not leave the battlefield, we will not be defeated" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 472, quoted from Ṭabarī); *mā taku fīnā fa-lā ẓulman naxāfu* "as long as you are among us, we fear no injustice" (ibid., 473, quoted from Farazdaq).

mā dāma

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-mā dumnā naʿrifu ʾanna -l-farqa bayna -l-lahajāti laysa mina -l-ḥiddati wa-l-buʿdi bi-ḥaythu yuʾaddī ʾilā -stiʿjāmi -l-fahmi fī lughati -t-taxāṭubi bayna ʾabnāʾi -l-qabāʾili ʾawi -l-jamāʿāti -l-muxtalifati li-ʾanna muʿẓama -l-fawāriqi baynahā tanḥaṣiru ʾimmā fī -l-lafẓi ʾawi -l-kalimati ʾawi -ṣ-ṣīghati fa-ʾinna mawqifa -bni jinnī minhā yansajimu... "And as we know that the difference between the dialects is not that marked and distinct that it causes misunderstanding in the language of communication between members of (different) tribes or groups, because most of the differences between them is limited to an expression or a word or a grammatical form, the attitude of Ibn Jinnī toward them is in keeping with..." (Athamina, 45, l. 2 n.b.); *wa-mā dāma -l-mafhūmu -lladhī tuẓāhiruhu -l-quwā -l-qasriyyatu -l-ʿulyā fī -l-mujtamaʿi, ʾayi -lladhī tuẓāhiruhu -d-dawlatu, yuṣbiḥu huwa -l-mafhūmu -lladhī tanʿaqidu la-hu -l-ghalbatu fī -l-mujtamaʿi, fa-ʾinna -ṣ-ṣirāʿa... yanshabu...* "Since the concept which the supreme powers in society support, namely the one supported by the state, becomes the concept by which the majority of the society is convinced, the struggle... breaks out" (al-Hilāl, 83, col. 1, l. 5 n.b.); *fa-mā dāmati -l-milkiyyatu tuḥaddidu -stixdāma -s-sulṭati -s-siyāsiyyati, fa-ʾinna sayṭarata qillatin ʿalayhā taʿnī...* "for as long as ownership determines the exertion of political power, the control of a minority over it means..." (ibid., 83, col. 2, l. 10 n.b.).

fa- preceding *lā* (*al-nāfiyah li-l-jins*)
ʿinnahā mā dāmat fī bilādinā -sh-sharqiyyi fa-lā budda ʾan taxḍaʿa . . . "as long as she is in our eastern country, she must obey . . ." (Y. Idrīs, *al-Bayḍāʾ*, 13, l. 10).

mā ʾan
fa- preceding *lan*
wa-mā ʾan yaxruja ʿarafāt min bayrūt fa-lan takūna la-hu ʾayyatu sayṭaratin ʿalā hādhihi -l-ʾajniḥati "As soon as Arafat leaves Beirut, he would not have any control over these wings" (*al-Muṣawwar* 3016, 30.7.82, p. 5).

2.5.3 *Clauses of cause as topics*
Topicalization of clauses of cause is quite rare in CA, but is quite common in later layers, especially in MSA. The latter has developed a relatively rich stock of conjunctions to introduce these clauses. Some of these conjunctions are not attested in CA (e.g., *ḥaythu ʾanna, naẓaran li-ʾanna, bi-mā ʾanna*), while others, originally introducing time clauses, may introduce clauses of cause as well (e.g., *lammā*, "when", *mā dāma* "as long as", *ṭālamā* "as".[80]

In contrast to topic clauses of condition and time, I have not noted the topic marker *ʾammā* preceding the topic clause of cause. The occurrence of the comment marker *fa-* is mainly determined by the syntactical structure of the comment main clause. In other words, its occurrence is most likely before non-verbal elements, and the least likely before the perfect and indicative forms of the verb.

ḥaythu ʾanna
fa- preceding *ʾinna*
ḥaythu ʾanna -sh-shaʿba -l-ʿarabbiyya -s-sākina fī -l-bilādi -s-sūriyyati shaʿbun lā yaqillu ruqiyyan . . . *ʿan sāʾiri -sh-shuʿūbi r-rāqiyati* . . . *fa-ʾinnanā naḥtajju ʿalā* . . . "Since the Arab people dwelling in the Syrian Land is a people which is not less developed than the other developed nations . . ., we protest against . . ." (al-Shanāwī, *Wathāʾiq wa-nuṣūṣ*, 121, l. 4, from the decisions of the general Syrian Congress); *wa-ḥaythu ʾannanā naʿ-taqidu ʾanna* . . . *fa-ʾinnanā naṭlubu* . . . "and since we think that . . . we demand . . ." (ibid., 121, l. 10 n.b.); *wa-ḥaythu ʾanna ladaynā dalālatan qāṭiʿatan ʿalā ʾanna ʾabā -n-najībi darrasa kitāba -l-lumaʿi, fa-ʾinnanā nastaṭīʿu ʾan nastantija* . . . "and since we have an irrefutable proof that A.N.

[80] Cf. Beeston, 99, and note 63 above.

taught *K. al-Luma*ʿ, we can conclude . . ." (Suhrawardī, Introduction, 12, l. 8 n.b.).[81]

*li-*ʾ*anna*

fa- preceding the imperative

*li-*ʾ*annaka qad* ʾ*atayta* ʾ*ilaynā bi-mā naḥnu* ʾ*ahlun* ʾ*an nashkuraka bi-hi wa-naʿrifuhu la-ka fa-ʿlam* ʾ*anna* . . . "Since you gave us something we are obliged to thank you and acknowledge you for it, know that . . ." (Lyons, 14, l. 2 n.b., from *Kalīlah and Dimnah*).

fa- preceding ʾ*inna*

*wa-*ʾ*idhā kānati -l-mutaghayyiratu ghayra wāsiʿati -lintishāri fī kalāmi -l-ʿarabi* ʾ*aw li-*ʾ*anna -nṭibāʿan bi-hādhā -l-maʿnā qad tabalwara ʿinda sībawayhi, fa-*ʾ*innahu mā kāna li-yataraddada fī* ʾ*an* . . . "and if the variant was not of wide distribution in the Arab speech, or because Sibawayhi developed such an impression, he would not hesitate to . . ." (Athamina, 59, l. 4).[82]

fa- preceding a subject pronoun

*wa-lākin li-*ʾ*anna -l-mārksiyyata taʿrifu salafan ghāyata hāʾulāʾi -l-bāḥithīna wa-niyyatahumu -l-*ʾ*ūlā fa-hiya taltazimu -l-ḥadhara* "but since Marxism knows in advance the purpose of these scholars and their main intention, it adheres to precaution" (al-Hilāl, 8, col. 2, l. 4 n.b.).

fa- missing before the perfect

*wa-li-*ʾ*annahu kāna fī xaṭarin dāʾimini, -dṭurra* ʾ*ilā hijrati bārīs* "And since he was in constant danger, he was forced to leave Paris" (ibid., 25, col. 2, l. 15 n.b.); *wa-lākin li-*ʾ*annahu huwa shaxṣiyyan min dhālika -ṣ-ṣinfi mina -n-nāsi -lladhī lā yaḥyā wa-lā yatanaffasu* ʾ*aw yataḥarraku* ʾ*illā* ʾ*idhā taʿarrafa kulla yawmin bi-*ʾ*unāsin jududin, wa-ʿarrafa* ʾ*unāsan bi-*ʾ*unāsin, qāla lī dhāta marratin* . . . "but since he was personally of that kind of people who can not live nor breathe nor move unless they meet every day new people and introduce people to other people, he told me once . . ." (Y. Idrīs, *al-Bayḍā*ʾ, 8, l.3).

*naẓaran li-*ʾ*anna*

fa- missing before the perfect

*wa-naẓaran li-*ʾ*anna -l-*ʾ*injlīza kānū fī ḥājatin* ʾ*ilā quwan brūtistāntiyyatin mutaʿaddidatin li-muwājahati -n-nashāti -l-kāthūlīkiyyi -l-mutazāyidi fī -l-*

[81] See also al-Hilal, 89, col. 1, l. 10 n.b.

[82] In this example it is not certain whether *fa-* follows *li-*ʾ*anna* clause, or rather the preceding ʾ*idhā* clause.

ʿirāqi kānū yuraḥḥibūna bi-maqdami . . . "And because the English needed numerous Protestant forces to face the increasing Catholic activity in Iraq, they welcomed the arrival of . . ." (al-Hilāl, 16, col. 1, l. 13 n.b.); *wa-naẓaran li-ʾanna quwwata mār shamʿūn al-ʿaskariyyata kānat ʿājizatan ʿan taḥqīqi -listiqlāli bi-quwwati -s-silāḥi ʿamada ilā* . . . "And since the military power of M.S. was incapable of accomplishing independence by force, he undertook to . . ." (ibid., 17, col. 1, l. 3 n.b.).

bi-mā ʾanna

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-bi-mā ʾannanā ḥiyāla kātibin masraḥiyyin fa-ʾinnanī lā ʾaẓunnu ʾanna . . . "And since we are facing a drama writer, I do not think that . . ." (Somekh, *Lughat al-ḥiwār*, 85, l. 6 n.b.); *wa-bi-mā ʾanna mabdaʾa -t-tatmīmi yaʿmalu bi-ḥukmi ṭabīʿatihi ʿan ṭarīqi ʿalāqati -l-muqārabati baynamā yaʿmalu mabdaʾu -t-takrāri ʿan ṭarīqi ʿalāqati -l-mushkilati fa-ʾinna li-ghalbati -stixdāmi ʾaḥadi -l-mabdaʾayni ʾatharan ʿalā* . . . "And as the principle of completion operates by virtue of its nature by approximation, whereas the principle of repetition operates by similarity relation, the dominating usage of one principle has the effect upon . . ." (R. Drori, *Ḥawla qawāʿid tabaddul al-qāfiyah*, 13, 8 n.b.).[83]

fa- preceding *qad*

wa-bi-mā ʾanna -l-ʾalmāna kānū yatarabbaṣūna li-bīkāsū, yuḥāwilūna ʾīdhāʾahu, fa-qad kāna ʾandrīh dībwā yaḥḍuru yawmiyyan . . . "And since the Germans were waiting for P., trying to harm him, A.D. used to come everyday . . ." (al-Hilāl, 26, col. 2, l. 7); *wa-bi-mā ʾannanā lā nurīdu ʾan* . . . *fa-qad ʾazmaʿnā ʿalā ʾan* . . . "And as we do not want . . ., we have determined to . . ." (D. Semah, Forward to *Karmel* 1, 1, l. 15 n.b.).

fa- preceding *sa-*

wa-bi-mā ʾanna -l-jumala -llatī tasbiqu "mā" -d-daymūmata wa-"ḥattā" hiya -l-jumalu -r-raʾīsiyyatu naḥwiyyan fa-sa-nuṭliqu ʿalā l-fiʿli fīhā -sma -l-fiʿli -r-raʾīsiyyi "And as the clauses preceding *mā al-daymūmah* and *ḥattā* are syntactically the main clauses," we shall call their verbs the "main verb" (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 85, l. 6 n.b.). For *fa-* preceding *sawfa*, see al-Qāsim N., 19, l. 4 n.b.

fa- preceding a subject pronoun

wa-bi-mā ʾannanā ʿalā waʿyin tāmmin bi-ʾahammiyyati taḍāfuri -l-juhūdi -l-muxtalifati fī maydāni -l-buḥūthi -l-ʿilmiyyati, fa-naḥnu wāthiqūna bi-ʾanna . . .

[83] See also Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 88, l. 3.

"And as we are completely aware of the importance of closely connected various efforts in the sphere of scientific researches, we are confident that . . ." (D. Semah, Forward to *Karmel* 1, 1, l. 8 n.b.).

fa- preceding the indicative

wa-bi-mā ʾannanā naʿlamu ʾanna -l-ḥayawāna kutiba fī zamāni -l-mutawakkili fa-yakūnu taʾlīfu -r-raddi ʿalā -l-mushabbihah qad sabaqa hādhihi -l-fatrata "And as we know that *al-Ḥayawān* was written at the time of M., the compilation of *al-Radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah* must have preceded that period" (I. Geries, Introduction to Jāḥiẓ, *Fī -r-radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah*, 95, l. 7).

ʾidhan pronominalizing the topic causal clause

fa-bi-mā ʾanna -l-ʾarḍa wa-s-samāʾa maḥdūdatun [sic], wa-llāhu yaqūlu "wa-jāʾa rabbuka" muʿabbiran ʿani -l-majīʾi ʾilā makānin, wa-hādhā yaʿnī -l-xurūja min makānin wa-d-duxūla fī makānin, wa-bi-mā ʾanna -llāha xāṭaba ʿibādahu bi-dhālika, wa-huwa yuxāṭibuhum bi-mā yaʿqilūna, ʿidhan li-llāhi jismun maḥdūdun "And as the Earth and the Sky are limited, and God says 'and your Lord came' stating the coming to a place, and this means leaving a place and entering (another) place, and since God told them this, and he tells them (only) what they can understand, hence God has a limited body" (I. Geries, ed., Jāḥiẓ *al-Radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah*, 123, note).

2.5.4 *Clauses of purpose as topics*

I have not noted in CA the occurrences of clauses of purpose in front extraposition. In MSA however, this construction is not unusual. The occurrence of the comment marker *fa-* generally follows the same syntactical conditions which determine its occurrence in other sentences, except that it may be missing even before prepositional phrases. As for the conjunctions introducing clauses of purpose in frontal position, I have noted *li-kay,* and marginally *kay* and *ḥattā.*

li-kay

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-li-kay naḥkuma ʿalā -l-ʾidārati -dh-dhātiyyati, fa-ʾinna ladaynā miʿyārayni "And in order for us to control the self-administration, we have two norms" (al-Hilāl, 31, col. 2, l. 1).

fa- preceding *lā* (*al-nāfiyah li-l-jins*)

wa-li-kay tattaḍiḥa -l-ʾumūru fa-lā budda mina -l-ḥadīthi . . . "and in order that the matter will become clear, it is necessary to talk . . ." (Athamina, 49, l. 1).

fa- missing before the perfect
wa-li-kay tafsaḥa la-hu qāmat . . . "and in order to make room for him, she rose up . . ." (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Bayna -l-qaṣrayn*, 116, l. 3 n.b.); *wa-li-kay yunāfisa -sh-shāʿiru siwāhu mina -sh-shuʿarāʾi li-yaḥẓā bi-markazin marmūqin ladā muqarrabīhi wajaba ʿalayhi ʾan* . . . "In order to compete with the other poets, so that he may obtain a lofty status among his close companions, he had to . . ." (M. Mikhāʾīl, *al-Maʿānī -sh-shiʿriyyah*, 133, l. 8 n.b.).
fa- missing before the indicative
wa-li-kay tuthbita ṣiḥḥata kalāmihā tamḍī fī muḥākāti . . . "and in order to prove that her words were right, she would continue to imitate . . ." (N. Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 56, l. 5); *wa-li-kay yudaʿʿima ʾaqwālahu hādhihi, yūridu -l-jāḥiẓ* . . . "And in order to support these doctrines, J. adduces . . ." (I. Geries, Introduction to Jāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿalā -l-mushabbihah*, 104, 9).
fa- missing before a prepositional phrase
li-kay narsuma ṣūratan mutakāmilatan li-l-lughāti ka-mā raʾāhā sībawayhi wa-ka-mā taʿāmala maʿahā ʿalaynā ʾan . . . "in order for us to draw a complete picture of the term *lughāt* as viewed and treated by S., we have to . . ." (Athamina, 48, l. 5 n.b.).

kay
fa- missing before a prepositional phrase
wa-kay naqtaniʿa bi-wujūdi tashbīhin xafiyyin fī kullin min hādhayni -l-baytayni mina -l-mustaḥsani ʾan . . . "And in order that we will be convinced of the existence of a hidden allegory in each of these two verses, we had better . . ." (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 96, l. 15).

ḥattā
fa- preceding *ʾinna*
wa-ḥattā takūna -ṣ-ṣūratu tāmmatan li-kulli muhtammin bi-l- mawḍūʿi fa-ʾinnanī ʾuqaddimu . . . "In order that the picture will be complete for everyone who is interested in the subject, I present . . ." (N. al-Qāsim, 13, l. 1).

2.5.5 *Clauses of concession as topics*
The occurrence of concessive clauses in frontal position is quite marginal in CA. It is quite common however in MSA. The latter uses a rich stock of conjunctions to introduce these clauses. Thus in addi-

tion to those attested in CA, such as *wa-ʾin, wa-law* "even if", MSA makes use of *maʿa ʾanna, ʿalā ʾanna, raghma ʾanna, bi-raghmi* "although". Just as other topic clauses are often pronominalized in their comment main clause, concessive clauses are often pronominalized by *ʾillā ʾanna* "nevertheless".[84] The occurrence of the comment marker *fa-* has not been noted when the topic clause is pronominalized by *ʾillā ʾanna.*

maʿa ʾanna

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-maʿa ʾanna -ntisāba ʾatbāʿin ghayri niẓāmiyyīna ʾilā -ṣ-ṣūfiyyati kāna ʾamran shāʾiʿan jiddan wa-dhā ʾatharin kabīrin ʿalā madhhabi -t-taṣawwufi fa-ʾinna -l-muʾallafāti -ṣ-ṣūfiyyata takādu . . . "and although the association of irregular followers to Sufism was very common and had a big influence upon Sufi doctrine, the Sufi books are almost . . ." (Suhrawardī, Introduction, 1, l. 3 n.b.); *wa-maʿa ʾanna -l-wilāyāti -l-muttaḥidata mathalan tafīḍu bi-dirāsātin ʿani -l-ʾaḥzābi wa-hiya dirāsātun tastanidu ʾilā mulāḥaẓātin hāmmatin wa-jāddatin, bal wa-dhāti qīmatin kabīratin fī ʾaghlabi -l-ʾaḥwāli, fa-ʾinnahu lā tūjadu maʿa hādhā dirāsatun wāḥidatun* . . . "And although the U.S. for example is flooded with studies about parties, and they are studies which are based on important and significant observations, moreover, observations of a big value in most cases, yet there is not a single study . . ." (al-Hilāl, 57, col. 2, l. 1).

ʾillā ʾanna pronominalizing the topic clause

fa-maʿa ʾanna ʾiḥsāsī wa-shuʿūrī -d-dāxiliyya kāna yuʾakkidu lī ʾannahā lan tumāniʿa fī liqāʾī baʿda hādhihi -l-marrati law ṭalabtu minhā ʾanā dhālika -l-liqāʾa, ʾillā ʾannanī kuntu . . . "And although my inner feeling and

[84] Cf. also Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 106; Blau, *Syntactic trends*, § 1.3, 175–6. The latter follows Bravmann's view that this construction exhibits anacoluthon, "the concessive clause proper (the protasis) is felt as an independent clause, rather than a dependent one, and therefore it is continued, by anacoluthon, by co-ordinating conjunctions denoting contrast". To support this view he adduces an example from JA, where the concessive clause is followed by *wa-*, which he considers a co-ordinating conjunction. Yet, even if historically this might be the origin of this structure, it seems that synchronically *wa-* functions here as a comment marker, as it does in other topic-comment constructions (cf. below, § 3, and especially § 3.4). The same reservation applies for the constructions exhibiting *ʾillā ʾanna*: instead of assuming an anacoluthon in a widely spread construction, I would rather consider *ʾillā ʾanna* a pronominalization of the concessive clause, a phenomenon so common in various sentences exhibiting an adverbial clause in frontal position. Consequently, instead of regarding the concessive clause as an independent clause, I would rather regard it as a topic clause of a topic-comment construction.

sensation assured me that she would not refrain from meeting me after this time if I were to ask her that meeting, yet I was . . . (Y. Idrīs, 18, l. 8); *wa-maʿa ʾanna -l-muʾallifa yaxuṣṣu -l-mutashabbihīna bi-r-ruxaṣi, ʾillā ʾannahu yabdū ʾanna* . . . "and although the author favors those who imitate permissions, yet it seems that . . ." (Suhrawardī, Introduction 10, l. 5).

ʿalā ʾanna

This structure is attested in JA with *fa-* preceding *ʾinna* and even the indicative verb. *ʿalā ʾanna* may introduce a causal clause as well.[85] I have not noted this structure in MSA.

raghma ʾanna

fa- preceding *qad*

wa-raghma ʾanna ʾinshāʾa hādhihi -l-wizārati yusajjilu ʾawwala ḍarbatin ḥaqīqiyyatin wujjihat ʾilā -l-ḥukmi -l-muṭlaqi fī miṣra, fa-qad baqiya -l-xidīw . . . "although the establishment of this government marks the first true blow aimed at the unlimited Egyptian authority, the Khediv remained . . ." (al-Hilāl, 87, col. 1, l. 10).

fa- preceding *hunāka* "there is/are"

wa-raghma ʾanna lughata -l-kitābi sardan wa-ḥiwāran hiya -l-fuṣḥā ka-daʾbi najīb maḥfūẓ fī kulli kitābātihi, fa-hunāka jumalun wa-faqarātun . . . "and although the language of the book, in narration and dialogue, is the literary one, as is N.M.'s use in all his writings, there are sentences and paragraphs . . ." (Somekh, *al-Muḍāraʿah*, 14, l. 7).

fa- missing before *lam* + apocopate

fa-raghma ʾanna -l-majlisa kāna yatakawwanu min 75 ʿuḍwan, lam yakun yumaththilu . . . "Although the council consisted of 75 members, no one was representing . . ." (al-Hilāl, 85, col. 2, l. 9).

ʾillā ʾanna pronominalizing the topic clause

wa-raghma ʾanna ʾabūlīnīr tuwuffiya mundhu ḥawālay xamsatin wa-ʿishrīna ʿāman, ʾillā ʾanna -l-bārūn kāna . . . "Although A. died about twenty five years ago, the baron was . . ." (al-Hilāl, 26, col. 1, l. 2 n.b.).

bi-raghmi

fa- missing before the indicative

wa-bi-raghmi mā qad nalqāhu mini -xtilāfātin, wa-baʿḍuhā -xtilāfātun muhimmatun, bayna hādhihi -l-ʾaḥdāthi -l-mutashābihati, nastaṭīʿu ʾan . . . "And in

[85] Cf. Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 193, § 306 c.

spite of the differences which we might encounter, and some of them are significant, between these similar events, we can . . ." (ibid., 50, col. 1, l. 8).

ʿalā -r-raghmi min ʾanna

fa- preceding *qad*

wa-ʿalā -r-raghmi min ʾannahu lam yuṭrad mina -l-kulliyyati marratan thāniyatan fa-qad wajjahat ʾilayhi ʿimādatu -l-kulliyyati . . . "and although he was not dismissed from the college a second time, the college management sent him . . ." (N. ʿAllūsh, *Sīrah shaxṣiyyah*, 46, l. 5 n.b.); *wa-ʿalā -r-raghmi min ʾanna -l-baṣrata qadi -staqṭabat ʾilayhā ʿanāṣira ghayra ʿarabiyyatin sawāʾan min ʾasrā -l-ḥarbi ʾawi -l-junūdi -l-murtaẓiqati ʾaw ʾaṣḥābi -l-ḥirafi wa-ʿummāli -l-xidamāti, fa-qad ẓalalnā narā fīhā* . . . "Although Basra attracted non-Arab elements, no matter whether from among the war prisonners or hired soldiers or craftsmen and service workers, we kept seeing there . . ." (Athamina, 47, l. 14).

fa- preceding *laysa*

wa-ʿalā -r-raghmi min ʾanna sībawayhi sammā hādhihi -ṣ-ṣiyagha -l-lahjawiyyata "lughātin" fa-laysa -l-maqṣūdu bi-dhālika ʾan . . . "and although S. named these dialectical forms *lughāt*, he did not mean . . ." (ibid., 54, l. 2 n.b.).

fa- missing before the indicative

lākinna hādhihi -l-ʾafkāra ʿalā -r-raghmi min ʾannahā ʿāmmatun wa-muḍāddatun li-t-taʾrīxi fī ʾashkālihā, tuʿabbiru fī māhiyyatihā . . . "But these ideas, although they are general and contradict History in their specimen, they express in their essence . . ." (al-Hilāl, 46, l. 15).

sawāʾan . . . ʾaw . . .

fa- preceding pronouns

wa-sawāʾan kāna hādhā -l-liqāʾu qad ḥadatha fiʿlan ʾaw kāna ḥadīthan muftaʿalan lam yajri muṭlaqan ka-mā yaʿtaqidu -l-brūfisūr y.b. fa-lladhī yaʿnīnā mina -l-ʾishārati ʾilayhi . . . "No matter whether this encounter actually took place or was a fabricated story which did not happen altogether, as Professor J.B. believes, what we are concerned to point out is . . ." (Athamina, 48, l. 6); *wa-sawāʾani -ʿtarafū bi-hā ʾam jaḥadūhā fa-hiya tushakkilu* . . . "No matter whether they acknowledge them or deny them, they constitute . . ." (the reference has been lost).

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

sawāʾan ʾa-kāna dhālika -ṣ-ṣadīqu muṣīban fī tabrīrihi dhāka ʾam xāṭiʾan fa-ʾinna -l-ʾustādha mārūn ʿabbūd yaqūlu . . . "Whether this friend is right

in his justification or wrong, Professor M.A. says..." (N. al-Qāsim, *Wāqiʿ al-durūz fī ʾIsrāʾīl*, 222, 9 n.b.).

fa- missing before the indicative

fa-sawāʾan sammaynā hādhā -l-bayta taṭrīzan ʾaw tawshīʿan yabqā madāru -l-baḥthi fī niṭāqi... "whether we call this category *taṭrīz* or *tawshīʿ*, the scope of research remains within the framework of..." (G. Kanazi, *al-Waḥdah -l-ʿuḍwiyyah*, 123, l. 8).

2.5.6 *Clauses of manner as topics*

The occurrence of these clauses in frontal position is marginal in most layers of Arabic. I have noted the following structures in MSA:

ka-mā

fa- preceding *ka-dhālika* which pronominalizes the topic

fa-ka-mā kāna li-l-būrjwāziyyati dawlatun li-l-qahri wa-l-ʾikrāhi -ṭ-ṭabaqiyyi li-taḥqīqi maṣāliḥihā, fa-ka-dhālika -l-brūlītāriyā... "Just as the bourgeoisie had a state for class subjection and compulsion in order to fulfill its interests, so the proletariat..." (al-Hilāl, 72, col. 2, l. 10 n.b.); *wa-ka-mā kānat ṭabaqatu -l-mullāki -z-zirāʿiyyīna mustāʾatan min wizārati nūbār li-ʾannahā faraḍat mazīdan mina -ḍ-ḍarāʾibi ʿalā ʾarāḍīhim, fa-ka-dhālika -nḍamma*... "Just as the agrarian owning class was discontent with the government of N. because it imposed more taxes on their lands, so did join... (ibid., 90, 1, l. 16).

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-ka-mā ʾanna -l-ḥarakata tasīru fī xaṭṭin dāʾiriyyin, lā naʿrifu la-hā bidāyatan wa-lā nihāyatan, fa-ʾinna -l-manāẓira tatakarraru lā maḥālata "As the movement goes in a circular line, and we do not know its beginning or end, the scenes necessarily repeat" (Sh. Ballas, *Qirāʾah fī maḥaṭṭah -s-sikkah -l-ḥadīd*, 16, l. 8); *wa-ka-mā dhakarnā sābiqan, fa-ʾinnahu lam*... "and as we have mentioned before, he did not..." (G. Kanazi, 121, l. 7 n.b.).

fa- missing before the indicative

fa-ka-mā yuʾaththiru -l-bināʾu -t-taḥtiyyu fī -l-bināʾi -l-fawqiyyi, yuʾaththiru -l-bināʾu -l-fawqiyyu fī -l-bināʾi -l-taḥtiyyi "Just as the lower structure affects the upper one, so does the upper structure affect the lower one" (al-Hilāl, 60, col. 2, l. 1).

mithlamā

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

mithlamā nashaʾati -l-ʾishāʿātu wa-l-ʾaqāwīlu ḥawla dīni -d-durūzi fa-ʾinna ʾishāʿātin mumāthilatani -ntasharat ḥawla ʾaṣlihim "In the same way as

rumors and sayings spread concerning the religion of the Druze, similar rumors spread about their origins" (N. al-Qāsim, *Wāqiʿ al-durūz fī ʾIsrāʾīl*, 222, l. 4 n.b.).

min ghayri ʾan

fa- missing before *sa-*

wa-min ghayri ʾan yakūnū mufawwaḍīna rasmiyyīna sa-yakūnu hāʾulāʾi -r-rijālu . . . "and without being official deputies, these people will be . . ." (al-Hilāl, 11, col. 2. l. 4).

badala ʾan

fa- preceding *ʾinna*

wa-badala ʾan yakūna kātiban ʿarabiyyan ʿāmman yaṣilu jumhūru qurrāʾihi -l-muḥtamalu ʾilā ʿasharāti -l-malāyīni, fa-ʾinnahu yanqalibu . . . "and instead of being a general Arabic writer whose potential public of readers reaches tens of millions, he becomes . . ." (Somekh, *Lughat al-ḥiwār*, 74, l. 8 n.b.).

2.5.7 *Circumstantial clauses as topics*

Circumstantial clauses preceding their main clauses are rather rare in CA, yet they are attested in MA, and are common in the modern dialects.[86] In MSA this structure is attested mainly when the circumstantial clause is preceded by other elements, e.g. by the topic marker *ʾammā* (Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 90), by an adverb (Blau, *Syntactic trends*, § 8.3), *ḥattā* "even" (Blau, *Observations on syntactic trends*, § 8.3), or a Noun Phrase (see p. 396 below). Syndetic circumstantial clauses introduced by *wa-* in absolute initial position are quite marginal in MSA, but not impossible.[87] This structure is attested in N. Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*,[88] but until further evidence from other sources is supplied, it is unsafe to conclude whether this structure is a productive feature of MSA's syntax, or rather a stylistic device characteristic of a specific work by a specific author.

As in other topic-comment constructions, *fa-* is attested mainly when the comment main clause is initiated by a non-verbal element.

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[86] For this structure in the various layers of Arabic, cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, 509, n. 3; for its usage in the modern dialects, cf. Rosenhouse, § 1.2, 228ff.

[87] Contrary to Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 90; cf. also Blau, *Syntactic trends*, 215, n. 149.

[88] I am indebted to Prof. S. Somekh, who called my attention to the occurrence of this structure there.

Circumstantial clauses in absolute initial position:

fa- preceding the perfect

wa-huwa dhāta yawmin māshiyan ʿalā shāṭiʾi -l-furāti fa-waqaʿa -l-mindīlu minhu "and as he was walking one day along the Euphrates, his kerchief fell down" (Blau, *Judaeo Arabic*, 219, § 340).

fa- preceding the indicative

hā ʾanā ʾudhākiru durūsī fī ḥujratī fayatarāmā ʾilayya ṣawtu ʾummī wa-hiya turaḥḥibu bi-ḍayfin "Here I was studying my lessons in my room, when my mother's voice reached me as she was greeting a guest" (Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 58, l. 2).

fa- missing before the indicative

wa-ʾanā māḍin naḥwa -l-qabwi yanfatiḥu bābu bayti -l-qayrawānī tājiri -d-daqīqi wa-tabruzu minhu banātuhu -th-thalāthu "As I was going towards the vault, the door of Q.'s house, the dealer of flour, opened, and his three daughters came out of it" (ibid., 12, l. 8 n.b.); *wa-ʾanā ʾalʿabu fī -l-ḥārati tanṭaliqu zughrūdatun min bayti -d-dībi* "As was playing in the neighborhood, a shrill burst out of D.'s house" (ibid., 83, l. 1); *wa-huwa yaqbaʿu fī -l-layli fī -s-sāḥati ʾamāma -t-takiyyati yuraddidu -l-ʾanāshīda wa-yuḥaddithu nafsahu yatasallalu ʾilayhi fī -ẓ-ẓalmāʾi rajulun dāhiyatun wa-yahmisu bi-ṣawtin ḥanūnin* "As he was squatting at nights in the courtyard in front of the monastery repeating songs and talking to himself, a smart man sneaked into him in the darkness and whispered with a tender voice" (ibid., 137, l. 11).

Circumstantial clauses not in absolute initial position:

The circumstantial clause preceded by *ʾammā.*

ʾammā wa-qad māta muxbirī fa-ʾuxbiruka bi-l-qiṣṣah "now that my informant is dead, I can tell you the story" (Beeston, *The Arabic language today*, 90); *ʾammā wa-qad ʾulghiyati -limtiyāẓātu fa-sa-tuftaḥu -l-ʾabwābu* "now that the privileges have been cancelled, the doors will be opened" (Blau, *Syntactic trends*, 215, § 8.4, quoted from Maḥfūẓ, *al-Sukkariyyah*).

The circumstantial clause preceded by a Noun Phrase

ʿalā ʾanna -ṭ-ṭabaqata -l-ʿāmilata wa-hiya tuqīmu diktātūriyyatahā hādhihi, fa-ʾinnahā tuqīmuhā bi-ṣifatin muʾaqqatatin "But the proletariat, as it sets up this dictatorship of his, it sets it up temporarily" (al-Hilāl, 73, col. 1. l. 6).

The circumstantial clause preceded by an adverb

al-ʾāna wa-qad ʾaxadha -llāhu bi-yadi bābā ʾinnī . . . "now that God given father health, I . . ." (Blau, *Syntactic trends*, 214, quoted from Maḥfūẓ, *Qaṣr al-shawq*); *ʾammā -l-ʾāna wa-qad ʾamara -llāhu bi-s-salāmati fa-ʾawaddu* "now that God has ordered health, I want . . ." (ibid.); *fa-fī yawmin wa-qad nafida ṣabrī dhahabtu* "one day, as I had lost my patience, I

went" (ibid., quoted from Jubrān, *al-ʿAwāṣif*); *wa-marratan wa-huwa yaqṭaʿu . . . ṣādafa* "once, as he was passing . . ., he met" (ibid., quoted from Maḥfūẓ, *al-Sukkariyyah*); *bal ḥattā wa-huwa min ṣamīmi ḥāratinā kāna yumkinu* "but even as it stems from the core of our quarter, it would be possible" (ibid., quoted from Maḥfūẓ, *Bi-lā bidāyah*).

3. *The comment marker* wa-

The occurrence of *wa-* after topics in frontal position is attested in CA and in those layers of Arabic that were influenced by CA.[89] Although the occurrence of *wa-* in these constructions is not as common as that of *fa-*, it seems to be more common than admitted by Arab and Western grammarians. This is due to the common confusion between this function of *wa-* and other, more common functions, such as circumstantial *wāw* (*wāw al-ḥāl*),[90] *wāw* of time (*wāw al-waqt*),[90] and coordinating *wāw* (*wāw al-ʿaṭf*).[91]

Concerning the syntactical conditions determining the occurrence of *wa-*, the situation is not clear. Whereas the occurrence of *fa-* is mainly determined by the syntactical structure of the comment,[92] the occurrence of *wa-* is not limited by such constraints. Thus it is frequently attested before the perfect and indicative forms of the verb (contrary to *fa-*), as well as negatives, various particles, substantives etc.[93]

The occurrence of *wa-* is attested after the following topic constructions: 1. topics introduced by *ʾammā*, 2. sentence adverbials in frontal position; 3. adverbial clauses in frontal position.

3.1 *Topics introduced by* ʾammā

Topics introduced by *ʾammā* "as to" are generally followed by *fa-*. I have noted one case in CA where *wa-* follows the topic introduced

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[89] Cf. Blau, *Adverbials*, 63. For its occurrence in the modern dialects, cf. ibid., § 3:2:3.

[90] Ibid., 64.

[91] It might well be that, historically, topics followed by *wa-* (as well as those followed by *fa-* and *thumma*, § 2 and 4 respectively), were created by anacoluthon, the *wa-* (as well as *fa-* and *thumma*) initiating a coordinated clause (cf. n. 84 above, and n. 98 below). Synchronically, however, these coordinating particles function as comment markers.

[92] Cf. § 2.4 above.

[93] Cf. the numerous examples adduced in Blau, *Adverbials*, § 3:2.

by *ʾammā: wa-ʾammā yawmu jabalata wa-kāna min ʿiẓāmi ʾayyāmi -l-ʿarabi* "As for the battle of Jabala, it was one of the glorious battles of the Arabs" (al-ʾIsfahānī, *Kitāb al-ʾaghānī.* X, 34, l. 18). See also Blau, *Christian Arabic*, 487, n. 38.

3.2 *Casus pendens*

kullu kalimatin buniyat ʾadātan ʿāriyatan fī -l-kalāmi li-tafriqati -l-maʿāni wa-smuhā ḥarfun "Each word formed as a devoid particle in the utterance to distinguish meaning—its name is *ḥarf*" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, IX, 41, col. 1, l. 9 n.b., s.v. *ḥrf*).

3.3 *Sentence adverbials in frontal position*

In addition to the structures adduced by Blau,[94] I have noted also:

siyyamā wa-
siyyamā wa-ʾinnahu la-hu -l-faḍlu -l-kabīru fī taʿlīmihim... "especially as he has the big credit for their education..." (*al-ʾAnbāʾ*, 6, col. 1, l. 35); *siyyamā wa-ʾinnahu yastaʿmilu hādhihi -lixtirāʿāti li-xidmatihi* "especially as he uses these inventions for his service" (ibid., 6, col. 1, l. 42).

thumma wa-
thumma wa-huwa yatasallalu ʾilā bayti... "then he slinked away into the house of..." (Maḥfūẓ, *Ḥikāyāt ḥāratinā*, 73, l. 2).

Adverbials of time
wa-ʿinda ḍuḥā -l-yawmi -t-tālī wa-l-ḥāratu thamilatun bi-ʾafrāḥi -l-ʿīdi "At forenoon of the following day, the quarter was intoxicated with the celebrations of the holiday" (ibid., 92, l. 5 n.b.).

3.4 *Adverbial clauses in frontal position*

The occurrence of *wa-* is attested in Middle Arabic after clauses of condition, clauses of time,[95] comparison,[96] etc.[97] In CA and MSA, I

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[94] Ibid., 67–69.
[95] Cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, § 346.1; § 346.3; § 346.5; § 346.6; idem, *Judaeo Arabic*, § 307.
[96] Idem, *Christian Arabic*, § 346.2.
[97] In Biblical Hebrew the occurrence of *wāw* is attested after conditional clauses (cf. Joüon, § 167; 529, § 176), time clauses (ibid., § 166; 530; 531, § 176), clauses of cause (ibid., § 170; 531, § 176, e), and after structures of casus pendens (ibid.,

have noted this structure mainly after time clauses, and quite marginally after circumstantial clauses.

3.4.1 wa- *following time clauses*
lammā
wa- preceding the perfect
wa-lammā ra'ā -r-raḥmānu 'an laysa fīhimī rashīdun wa-lā nāhin 'axāhu ʿani -l-ghadri wa-ṣabba ʿalayhim taghlibā "and when the Merciful saw that there was no one following the right way among them, and no one preventing his fellow man from treachery, he cast Taghlib upon them" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 483, § 253, 6, quoted from 'Axṭal); *fa-lammā 'aslamā wa-tallahu li-l-jabīni wa-nādaynāhu* "When they resigned [to God's will], and he flung him upon his brow. We called him" (ibid., quoted from Qur'ān, *37*:103. See also Brockelmann, II, 708); *fa-lammā dhahabū bihi wa-'ajmaʿū 'an yajʿalūhu fī ghayabāti -l-jubbi wa-'awḥaynā 'ilayhi la-tunabbi'annahum bi-'amrihim hādhā* "So when they went with him, and agreed to put him in the bottom of the well, We revealed to him, 'Thou shalt tell them this deed of theirs'" (Qur'ān, *12*:15).[98]

ḥattā 'idhā
wa- preceding the perfect
wa-sīqa -lladhīna -ttaqaw rabbahum 'ilā-l-jannati zumaran ḥattā 'idhā jā'ūhā wa-futiḥat 'abwābuhā wa-qāla la-hum xazanatuhā ... "Then those that feared their Lord shall be driven in companies into Paradise, till, when they have come thither, its gates will be opened, and its keepers will say to them ..." (Qur'ān, *39*:73).[99]

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§ 156, 4; 531, § 176, c), and adverbial constructions in frontal position (Blau, *Adverbials*, § 2:1:3, 22 ff.). The common origin of this *wāw* in all these constructions has been noted by P. Joüon, who called it "*waw* d'apodose" (Joüon, § 176), or "*waw* analogous to it" (ibid., 478, § 156, 4) The affinity between the so-called "*wāw* apodoseos" in Arabic and the *wāw* occurring after adverbial constructions resembling clauses has been noted by J. Blau (Blau, *Adverbials*, 66). I tend to accept this observation, but instead of calling it "*wāw* apodoseos", I would rather use a wider term covering all its related manifestations, namely "the comment marker *wa-*".

[98] Qur'ān commentators tend to regard *wa-* here as introducing a coordinated clause, and refer to an elliptic *lammā* clause (cf. Jalālayn, *12*:15).

[99] The fact that *wa-* preceding *futiḥat* does not initiate a coordinated clause is evident when compared with the equivalent version in verse 71: *ḥattā 'idhā jā'ūhā futiḥat 'abwābuhā*, where *futiḥat* undoubtedly introduces the apodosis.

mundhu ʾan
In MSA *wa-* is often attested following "since" phrases.[100] I have noted it following a "since" clause as well: *mundhu ʾan ʾamlati -l-mumaththilatu -l-ʾīṭāliyyatu -sh-shahīratu ṣūfyā lūrīn mudhakkirātihā wa-nasharathā wa-lladhīna yaqraʾūna hādhihi -l-mudhakkirāti ya-tasāʾalūna* . . . "Since the famous Italian actress S.L. dictated her memoirs and published them, those reading these memoirs have been asking themselves . . ." *(al-ʾAnbāʾ*, 3.6.80, p. 6, col. 6, l. 11 n.b.).

3.4.2 wa- *following circumstantial clauses*
wa- is often attested after clauses with a progressive durative verb, when the apodosis marks suddenness.[101] I have noted this structure in MSA, where it may occur after circumstantial clauses preceding their main clauses: *wa-mā ziltu ʾatadhākaru kulla hādhā -l-ḥanāni -l-gharībi wa-qaṭaʿa bīkāsū mā -ḥtawānā min ṣamtin li-yaqūla* . . . "And I was still bearing in mind this strange affection, when P. broke off the silence which encompassed us in order to say . . ." (al-Hilāl 27, col. 2, l. 1).

4. *The adverbial clause followed by* thumma

I have noted a Qurʾānic verse where *thumma* follows a time clause introduced by *ḥattā ʾidhā* "until when".[102] It is quite possible to regard this verse as an anacoluthon, assuming that the main clause is deleted (as is often done by Qurʾān commentators with regard to time clauses followed by *wa-*).[103] Whereas *fa-* and *wa-* occur in various topic-comment constructions (and synchronically function as topic markers with a productive vitality), the coordinator *thumma* is not attested in other topic-comment constructions. As long as this example is the only one attested, it seems more plausible not to regard *thumma* as a comment marker. This example is illustrative, however, as it shows how coordinators such as *fa-* and *wa-* turned out to function as comment markers:
ḥattā ʾidhā ḍāqat ʿalayhimu -l-ʾarḍu bi-mā raḥubat wa-ḍāqat ʿalayhim

[100] Cf. Blau, *Adverbials*, 68–9.
[101] Cf. Blau, *Christian Arabic*, § 346.6 and the literature adduced in 453, n. 24.
[102] For a similar construction where the clause introduced by *ḥattā ʾidhā* is followed by the coordinating *wa-*, cf. 399 above, and n. 99.
[103] Cf. n. 98 above.

ʾanfusuhum wa-ẓannū ʾan lā malǧaʾa mina -llāhi ʾillā ʾilayhi thumma tāba ʿalayhim li-yatūbū "until, when the earth became strait for them, for all its breadth, and their souls became strait for them, and they thought that there was no shelter from God except Him, then He turned towards them, that they might also turn" (Qurʾān, *9*:119).[104]

5. *The comment marker* la-

Unlike the comment markers discussed below, the comment marker *la-* does not originate from a coordinating particle. It is often labelled by the Arab grammarians "the affirmative *la-*" (*lām al-taʾkīd*), obviously because it often occurs in "emphatic" environments.

The occurrence of *la-* is most common in the following topic-comment constructions: Between the oath and its complement; between topics introduced by *ʾin/ʾinna* (and its "sisters") and their comments; before the apodoses of *la-ʾin* and *law*. Its occurrence in other topic-comment constructions is quite marginal. It is noteworthy that in some of these constructions the occurrence of *la-* is optional, and most of these constructions exhibit the occurrence of *fa-* as well.

This fact shows that both particles share a common function in these constructions, namely that of a comment marker.

The occurrence of *la-* is also affected by the syntactical structure of the comment. Thus in most constructions it does not occur before the perfect verb, nor before a negative comment (with the exception of conditionals introduced by *law*).[105]

It is noteworthy that *la-* tends to precede the last comment of the construction only. Thus, in topic-comment constructions of the type T_1 C_1 (T_2 C_2), *la-* would precede C_2 rather than C_1. This is manifested when C_1 is a topic-comment construction introduced by *ʾin* (*al-muxaffafah*) or *ʾinna*. When these constructions occur after an oath or after *la-ʾin* or *law* clauses, *la-* occurs before the comment of *ʾin/ʾinna*, rather than before *ʾin/ʾinna* themselves.

The fact that *la-* is often attested in initial position raises the question of the position of this particle within the sentence. The Arab gammarians often regard this *la-* as "the inchoative *la-ʾ* (*lām al-ʾibtidāʾ*).

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[104] I have cited here Arberry's translation which renders *thumma* as initiating the main clause of *ḥattā ʾidhā*.

[105] Cf. n. 123 below.

Consequently, they have difficulties in explaining its frequent occurrence in a non-initial position. Our conception of *la-* as a comment marker resolves these difficulties. As for the cases in which *la-* does occur initially, we would assume a preceding oath in the deep structure, so that *la-* introduces the complement of a deleted oath. This presentation is often offered by the Arab grammarians themselves when they explain the occurrence of *la-* in sentences beginning by *la-qad.*[106]

5.1 la- *preceding the complement of the oath*

"*la-* of the complement of the oath" (*lām jawāb al-qasam*) is common before non-verbal elements (i.e. substantives, pronouns, prepositional phrases, the particle *qad*) and before the energetic form of the imperfect.[107] It is quite rare, however, before the perfect and indicative verb,[108] and before a negative clause. It is also missing before *ʾinna* and *ʾin* (*al-muxaffafah*) which for themselves introduce a topic-comment construction. When this is the case, *la-* precedes the comment of *ʾinna/ʾin.*[109]

5.2 *la- following topics introduced by ʾin/ʾinna/ʾanna/lākinna*

ʾin

The so called "lightened *ʾin*" (*ʾin al-muxaffafah*) generally requires the so called "separative *la-*" (*al-lām al-fāriqah* or *al-lām al-fāṣilah*) before its comment.[110] This *la-* does not occur, however, before the perfect verb, nor before a negative comment: *ʾini -llāhu ʿāfā ʾabā shubrumah* "God cured A.Sh." (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 129, quoted from Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ*); *ʾini -l-ḥaqqu lā yaxfā ʿalā dhī baṣīratin* "The truth is not concealed from the one who possesses a mental vision" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 232, under *ḥarf al-lām al-mufradah*).

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[106] Cf. *Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 229.

[107] For details cf. Wright, II, 175–6.

[108] When the complement of the oath contains a perfect verb, the particle *qad* is generally inserted between *la-* and the perfect verb. In Pre-Classical Arabic, however, I have noted quite a few cases where *qad* is wanting, generally before stative verbs (e.g.: *wa-llāhi la-wadidtu* "By God, I would like"). The occurrence of *la-* before the indicative verb is extremely rare. It is attested, however, when the verb refers to the present rather than to the future, e.g.: *wa-llāhi la-ʾaẓunnuka qad ṣabaʾta* "By God, I think that you have become a Sabian" (*al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, 109, 7).

[109] Cf. 401 above.

[110] Cf. Wright, I, 283; II, 81; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, § 65, 6.

It is interesting to note that when *ʾin* is followed by an auxiliary verb + predicate (or main verb), *la-* does not precede the auxiliary verb, but rather its predicate or main verb. In these cases the topic does not occur as a separate entity, but is rather incorporated within the auxiliary verb: *ʾin kāna mā ʿalimtu la-musliman* "he was, to the best of my knowledge, a Moslem" (Reckendorf, loc. cit., quoted from Ṭabarī); *ʾin kāna la-yuḥsinu fīkumu -l-qawla qāla wa-naḥnu wa-llāhi ʾin kunnā la-nuḥsinu la-hu -l-ʾaṭāʾa* "he said nice things about you. He answered: By God, we gave him nice presents" (ibid., quoted from *Kitāb al-ʾaghānī*); *ʾin kādat la-taqtulunī* "she almost killed me" (ibid., quoted from Ṭabarī).

la- is also exhibited between the two objects of *ʾafʿāl al-qulūb*. It should be noted that in the deep structure, these objects relate to each other as topic-comment, and this special relation is retained in the surface structure by *la-*. It is noteworthy that these structures are sometimes misinterpreted as exhibiting the conditional *ʾin* rather than *ʾin al-muxaffafah* (cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 128, note; Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, 169–70, with regard to Qur'ān, *7*:101): *wa-ʾin wajadnā ʾaktharahum la-fāsiqīna* "indeed, We found most of them ungodly"; *wa-ʾin naẓunnuka la-mina -l-kādhibīna* "indeed, we think that thou art one of the liars" (ibid., *26*:186).

ʾinna

The particle *ʾinna* introduces a topic-comment structure. The comment is optionally preceded by the comment marker *la-*.[111] The latter is missing however before perfect verbs and before negative comments.[112] The part of the sentence marked by the comment marker *la-* may be the grammatical subject, the grammatical predicate, a verbal clause, an equational clause, etc.: *ʾinna bi-sh-shiʿbi -lladhī dūna salʿin la-qatīlan* "in the ravine that is below S. (there lies) a murdered man" (Wright, II, 79); *fa-ʾinnī la-maʿa nafarin mina -l-ʾanṣāri* . . . "I was with some men of the 'Anṣār . . ." (ibid.); *ʾa-ʾinnakum la-tashhadūna ʾanna* . . . "do you testify that . . ." (ibid.); *fa-qāla la-hu maʿbadun ʾa-wa-ʾinnaka la-ʾanta huwa* "So M. told him: 'Is it that you are him?]'" (literally: are you [you are him]. *Riwāyāt al-ʾaghānī*, 11, l. 1 n.b.); *wa-ʾinnī la-madfūʿun ʾilayya walāʾuhum* "and I—their allegiance was given to me" (Brockelmann, II, 596).

[111] Cf. Wright, II, 79.
[112] Cf. ibid.

ʾanna

The particle *ʾanna* introduces a topic-comment structure which functions as a complement clause. The occurrence of the comment marker *la-* in this structure is quite marginal.[113] *fa-lā yaxtalifu ʾaḥadun ʿalā ʾanna māʾa -l-baḥri -lladhī yunqalu bi-wāsiṭati ghirbālin, wa-l-jabala -lladhī yaṭīru fī -l-faḍāʾi ka-ʾannahu -s-siḥābu -l-muthaqqalu bi-l-ʾamṭāri, la-ṣūratāni mughriqatāni jiddan fī-l-gharābati* "For no one disagrees that the water of the sea carried through a sieve, and a mountain floating in the space like a cloud overloaded with rain, are two pictures engrossed in oddness" (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 96, l. 6).

lākinna

The particle *lākinna* "but" introduces a topic-comment structure. The occurrence of *la-* in these constructions is extremely rare. The Arab grammarians adduce an example attesting to the occurrence of *la-* in this construction. Most of them however do not accept that *la-* may occur after *lākinna*. In order to resolve this difficulty, some of them assume a combination of *lākin* + *ʾinna*, so that *la-* is triggered by *ʾinna* rather than by *lākinna*.[114] If our interpretation that *la-* functions as a comment marker is right, the occurrence of *la-* in this construction should cause no difficulty, as it precedes the comment in a topic-comment structure: *wa-lākinnanī min ḥubbihā la-ʿamīdū* "but because of my love for her I am distressed" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 233; 292).

5.3 la- *in various topic-comment constructions*

The Arab grammarians adduce various "odd" examples attesting to the occurrence of *la-* in different constructions which are not "supposed" to exhibit *la-*. These examples exhibit *la-* in structures of casus pendens, nominal clauses, between auxiliary verbs and their predicates, and even between two objects which relate to each other as topic-comment. Even though these constructions do not seem to

[113] Cf. *Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 233, where another example is adduced. According to ʿAbbās, Ḥasan, *al-Naḥw al-wāfī*, I, 651, when *la-* precedes the comment of *ʾnna*, the latter should be vocalized *ʾinna*, even when it occurs after verbs such as *ʿalimtu* "I knew". In the following example, however, *ʾanna* is preceded by a preposition, so that the reading *ʾinna* is inconceivable.

[114] This example too illustrates the difficulties which the Arab grammarians face in explaining the occurrence of *la-* in various topic-comment constructions. These difficulties are due, as mentioned above, to their basic conception that *la-* should occur initially.

be productive, they are of a considerable significance to our issue, as they exhibit *la-* as a comment marker in various topic-comment constructions not falling within the standardized rules of the Arab grammarians. Moreover, its occurrence there is to a great extent contrary to their perception that *la-* should occur initially (with the exception of *'inna* constructions). To resolve this difficulty the Arab grammarians label *la-* in these constructions (as they often do with other "unexplainable" constructions) "a redundant *la-*" (*la- zā'idah*). Our perception of *la-* as a comment marker accounts for its occurrence in these various constructions, and consequently seems more plausible.[115]

la- in casus pendens

zaydun la-'anā 'ukrimuhu "Zayd — I honor him" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 230).

la- in nominal clauses

'ummu -l-ḥulaysi la-'ajūzun shahrabah "Ḥ.'s mother is a very old woman" (ibid.; also cited in LA, s.v. *shahrab*); *xālī la-'anta wa-man jarīrun xāluhū yanali -l-'alā'a wa-yukrimi -l-'axwālā* "My maternal uncle is you, and whosoever J. is his maternal uncle, gains dignity and honors his maternal uncles" (LA, loc. cit.); [*'amsā 'abānu dhalīlan ba'da 'izzatihī*] *wa-mā 'abānu la-min 'a'lāji sūdānī* "[A. became low after his celebrity], and A. was not one of the black unbelievers" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 233).[116]

la- between the auxiliary verb and predicate

wa-mā ziltu min laylā ladun 'an 'araftuhā la-ka-l-hā'imi -l-muqṣā bi-kulli-marādī "And because of L., since I got to know her, I did not cease being like a mad camel, driven away in every pasturing place" (ibid.);[117]

la- between two objects

Especially interesting are those examples exhibiting the occurrence of *la-* between two objects. It is noteworthy that in the deep structure, these objects relate to each other as topic-comment, and this special relation is retained in the surface structure by *la-*: *'arāka la-shātimī* "I see you abusing me" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 233).

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[115] Cf. also p. 92 above, and n. 114.

[116] To resolve the difficulty exhibited by this example, the Arab grammarians suggest also another interpretation regarding *mā* as an interrogative, and splitting the utterance into two clauses: "And what is A? He is one of the . . .". this interpretation places *la-* in initial position, in agreement with the basic perception mentioned above.

[117] In this example *la-* precedes the complement of *mā ziltu* (which is one of the members of the category known as *kāna wa-'axawātuhā*). This structure is similar to the one exhibited by *'in al-muxaffafah* followed by an auxiliary verb + predicate (or

5.4 la- *following topic adverbial clauses*

The occurrence of *la-* is also attested after topic adverbial clauses. It is very common after conditional clauses introduced by *la-ʾin* and *law*, and quite marginal after *ʾin* and temporal clauses introduced by *ʾidhā, la-ʾidh, la-matā*. In most of these constructions (except *law* clauses), the syntactical structure of the comment main clause is identical with that of the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*).

la-ʾin

Conditional clauses introduced by *la-ʾin* generally exhibit in their comment main clause a structure identical with the complement of the oath. The occurrence of *la-* is attested before the energetic form of the verb (and rarely before the indicative verb), before *qad* + perfect (and rarely directly preceding the perfect), before substantives, subject pronouns, prepositional phrases, and before the comment of a topic introduced by *ʾinna*. Its occurrence before the indicative and perfect forms of the verb is extremely rare, and so is its occurrence before negative particles.

la- preceding the energetic verb

wa-la-ʾin saʾaltahum man xalaqahum la-yaqūlunna "and if you ask them who created them, they will say" (Qurʾān, *43*:87).

la- preceding *qad*

wa-llāhi la-ʾin kāna qālahu la-qad ṣadaqa "By God, if he had said it, he said the truth" (Ibn Hishām; *Sīrah*, I, 399, l. 3).

la- preceding a substantive

wa-la-ʾin qutiltum fī sabīli -llāhi ʾaw muttum la-maghfiratun mina -llāhi wa-raḥmatun xayrun "and if you get killed for God's sake or die, a forgiveness or mercy from God are better" (Qurʾān, *3*:157).

la- preceding a subject pronoun

wa-la-ʾin ṣabartum la-huwa xayrun li-ṣ-ṣābirīna "and if you are patient, it is better for those who are patient" (ibid., *16*:126).

la- preceding prepositional phrases

wa-llāhi la-ʾin ḥafiẓtahu fī -l-mamāti la-ka-mā ḥafiẓtahu fī -l-ḥayāti "By God, if you protected him in death, likewise you protected him in life" (Ibn Saʿd, V, 127, l. 22); *wa-la-ʿamrī la-ʾin hamamti bi-qatlī la-bi-mā qad qatalti qablī -r-rijālā* "By my life, if you intend to kill me,

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main verb), see 90 above. In both structures the topic does not occur as an independent entity, but is rather incorporated within the auxiliary verb.

with what did you kill men before me?" (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah, 363, l. 9).

la- preceding the comment of *ʾinna* topic

la-ʾini -ttabaʿtum shuʿayban ʾinnakum ʾidhan la-xāsirūna "If you follow Shuaib, assuredly in that case you will be losers" (Qurʾān, 7:89).[118]

la- preceding the perfect

wa-la-ʾin ʾarsalnā rīḥan fa-raʾawhu musfarran la-ẓallū min baʿdihi yakfurūna "But if We loose a wind, and they see it growing yellow, they remain after that unbelievers" (ibid., *30*:51).[119]

la- preceding the indicative

la-ʾin taku qad ḍāqat ʿalaykum buyūtukum la-yaʿlamu rabbī ʾanna baytiya ʾawsaʿū "If your tents became too narrow for you, my Lord knows that my tent is wider" (Trumpp, 373).[120]

la- preceding the negative *mā*

la-ʾin kunta jāwazta bī qadrī ʿindaka la-mā balaghtu bi-ka ʾamalī fīka "If you transgressed my determined quantity with regard to you, then I did not reach my hope with regard to you" (*ʿUyūn al-ʾaxbār*, 220, l. 17).[121]

law

Hypothetical conditionals often exhibit a topic-comment construction. The topic conditional clause may be marked by *ʾin/ʾan*,[122] and *ʾammā*. The occurrence of the comment marker *la-* is exhibited before the perfect, before *qad*, and before the negative *mā*.[123] Its occurrence in other constructions is quite marginal.[124] The topic conditional

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[118] In this example the conditional clause is pronominalized in its main clause by *ʾidhan*. For more example cf. Kinberg, *la-ʾin*, § 1.

[119] For more exmples exhibiting this structure, cf. Kinberg, *la-ʾin*, § d. For *la-* directly preceding the perfect, cf. n. 108 above.

[120] This structure is extremely rare. As noted with regard to the complement of the oath (n. 108 above), this structure is attested when the verb refers to the present rather than to the future.

[121] This structure is extremely rare and is not attested in the complement of an oath. For the occurrence of *fa-* in this construction, cf. 56 above.

[122] Cf. Kinberg, *ʾn law*.

[123] Here too, the structure exhibited after *law* clauses does not follow the general pattern with regard to the occurrence of *la-*. It is noteworthy, however, that in Pre-Classical texts, the occurrence of *la-* before the negative *mā* is rather rare. Thus it is never attested in the Qurʾān, and is quite marginal in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. This structure is very common in the works of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) and in later layers of Arabic, especially in MSA. Cf. also Kinberg, *Hypothetical conditionals*, § 3.2.3.

[124] For the occurrence of the comment marker *fa-* after *law* clauses, cf. 57–58 above.

clause is often pronominalized in the comment main clause by *ʾidhān.*

ʾammā preceding the conditional clause

ʾammā law kāna makānaka rajulun ʾaʿrifuhu mā ṣabara ʿalayhā "If a man that I know were in your place, he would not be patient with it" (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 541, quoted from Ṭabarī). It is noteworthy that *ʾammā* introducing a *law* clause is not followed by *fa-*. *la-* is missing before the negative *mā*.

ʾin/ʾan preceding the conditional clause

wa-ʾaymu -llāhi ʾin law faʿalū la-dhaʿarū bunayyaka hādhā "By God, if they had done (so), they would have terrified this little son of yours" (Kinberg, "The combination *ʾn law*", 37, quoted from Ṭabarī); *wa-ʿaraftu ʾan law qadi -ftuqidtu la-rujiʿa ʾilayya* "And I knew that if I were missed, they would come back to me" (ibid., 38, quoted from Ibn Hishām).

ʾidhan pronominalizing the conditional clause

qul law ʾantum tamlikūna xazāʾina raḥmati rabbī ʾidhan la-ʾamsaktum xashyata -l-ʾinfāqi "Say: 'If you possessed the treasuries of my Lord's mercy, yet would you hold back for fear of expending'" (Qurʾān, *17*:100).[125]

la- preceding the perfect

law shiʾtu la-sārat maʿī jibālu -dh-dhahabi "if I had wanted, mountains of gold would have followed me" (Ibn Saʿd, $I/_2$, 101, l. 11).

la- preceding the energetic verb

kallā law taʿlamūna ʿilma -l-yaqīni la-tarawunna -l-jaḥīma thumma la-tarawunnahā ʿayna -l-yaqīni thumma la-tusʾalunna yawmaʾidhin ʿani -n-naʿīmi "No indeed, did you know with the knowledge of certainty, you shall surely see Hell. Again, you shall surely see it with the eye of certainty. Then you shall be questioned that day concerning true bliss" (Qurʾān, *102*:5–8).[126]

la- preceding a substantive

wa-law ʾāmanū wa-ttaqaw la-mathūbatun min ʿindi -llāhi xayrun law kānū yaʿlamūna "Yet had they believed, and been god-fearing, a recompense from God had been better, if they had but known" (Qurʾān, *2*:103).

la- preceding *qad*

wa-law-lā ʾan thabbatnāka la-qad kidta tarkanu ʾilayhim "And had We not confirmed thee, surely thou wert near to inclining unto them" (Qurʾān, *17*:74).

la- preceding the negative *mā*

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[125] For more examples cf. Kinberg, *Hypothetical conditionals*, § 3.1.12–3.1.16.

[126] Cf. also ibid., § 3.1.4.

ʾa-mā wa-llāhi law faʿaltum ghayra dhālika la-mā ṣālaḥnākum "By God, if you had done something else, we would not have reconciled you" (Ibn Saʿd, III/$_2$, 151, l. 13).

la- preceding the comment of *ʾin (al-muxaffafah)*

wa-law kāna -l-ʾamru ka-mā taqūlūna ʾinna -llāha wa-rasūlahu -xtārā ʿaliyyan li-hādhā -l-ʾamri wa-l-qiyāmi baʿda -n-nabiyyi ʿalayhi -s-salāmu ʾin kāna la-ʾaʿẓama -n-nāsi fī dhālika xiṭʾatan wa-jurman ʾidh taraka mā ʾamarahu bi-hi rasūlu -llāhi "And if it were as you claim that Allah and His messenger have chosen Ali for this authority and for standing on the place of the Prophet, peace be upon him, he would be because of this the most transgressor and most evildoer of all people, for he would have renounced what the messenger of God ordered him" (Ibn Saʿd, V, 235, l. 20).

ʾin

Conditional clauses introduced by *ʾin* may exhibit the occurrence of *la-* before their comment main clause. This is generally so when the conditional clause is preceded by an oath, yet it is also attested when the conditional clause is not preceded by an oath.

la- preceding the energetic verb

wa-llāhi -lladhī baʿathaka bi-l-ḥaqqi ʾin shiʾta la-namīlanna ʿalā ʾahli minan ghadan bi-ʾasyāfinā "By God who has sent you with truth, if you wish, we will turn tomorrow on the people of M. with our swords" (*Sīrah*, I, 448, l. 1); *wa-ʾin law yantahū ʿammā yaqūlūna la-yamassanna -lladhīna kafarū minhum ʿadhābun ʾalīmun* "If they refrain not from what they say, there shall afflict those of them that disbelieve a painful chastisement" (Qurʾān, *5*:76).

la- preceding the comment of *ʾinna* topic

wa-ʾin ʾaṭaʿtumūhum ʾinnakum la-mushrikūna "If you obey them, you are idolators" (ibid., *6*:121); *fa-qāla ʾin kunta ṣādiqan ʾinnaka la-fahimun* "So he said: 'If you speak the truth, you are quick-witted'" (*Riwāyāt al-ʾaghānī*, 6, l. 1 n.b.).

la- preceding *qad*

wa-ʾin balagha -ṣ-ṣaghīru madā kabīrin la-qad xuliqa -ṣ-ṣaghīru mina -l-kabīri "And if the small one reaches the limits of a big one, then the small one is created out of the big one" (Ṭabarī, III/$_1$, 407, l. 14).

ʾidhā

In quite a few verses in the Qurʾān the apodosis of *ʾidhā* exhibits the occurrence of *la-* rather than *fa-*. I have noted it when *ʾidhā*

occurs in a question. Generally the interrogative *ʾa-* precedes both *ʾidhā* and its apodosis (when the latter is introduced by *ʾinna*).

la- preceding *sawfa*
wa-yaqūlu -l-ʾinsānu ʾa-ʾidhā mā mittu la-sawfa ʾuxraju ḥayyan "Man says: 'What, when I am dead, shall I then be brought forth alive?'" (Qur'ān, *19*:66).

la- preceding the comment of *ʾinna* topic
hal nadullukum ʿalā rajulin yunabbiʾukum ʾidhā muzziqtum kulla mumazzaqin ʾinnakum la-fī xalqin jadīdin "Shall we point you to a man who will tell you: 'When you have been utterly torn to pieces, then you shall be in a new creation'?" (ibid., *34*:7, quoted in *Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 99, s.v. *ʾidhā*); *ʾa-ʾidhā kunnā turāban ʾa-ʾinnā la-fī xalqin jadīdin* "What, when we are dust shall we indeed then be raised up again in new creation?" (ibid., *13*:5). See also *17*:49; *17*:98; *23*:83; *27*:67; *32*:10; *37*:16; *37*:53; *56*:47.

In MSA *la-* is exhibited before the perfect verb, a structure so common after *law* clauses. Hence it seems that in MSA, this structure is due to assimilation with *law* sentences rather than with *la-ʾin* sentences (as in the case in the Qur'ān):
wa-naḥnu ʾidhā qumnā bi-muqāranati ʾabyāti -l-ʾamthilati bi-jadwali -n-namādhiji -l-mabnawiyyati -lladhī ʾawradnāhu [instead of *ʾaradnāhu* there] *sābiqan la-wajadnā ʾanna . . .* "If we compare the verses in the examples of the chart of basic patterns which we have adduced before, we will find that . . ." (D. Semah, *al-Daymūmah wa-listiḥālah*, 93, l. 6 n.b.); *wa-ʾidhā tanāwalnā ʾabyāta -l-ʾamthilati thāniyatan wa-naẓarnā fīhā bi-ʾimʿānin la-ʾamkananā ʾan nulāḥiẓa . . .* "And if we take the verses of the examples once more and examine them closely, we will be able to observe . . ." (ibid., 95, l. 9).

ʾidh

The occurrence of *la-* after clauses introduced by *ʾidh* is extremely rare. I have noted one case where *la-* precedes both *idh* and its comment clause, a structure so common with *ʾin* clauses (for a similar structure with *matā*, see below).
bal kānū ʾidh lam yakun la-hum sābiqatun wa-lam yakun fīhim mā yastaḥiqqūna bi-hi -l-xilāfata wa-lam yakun fīhim mā yamnaʿuhum minhā ʾashadda -l-manʿi la-kāna ʾahwana wa-la-kāna -l-ʾamru ʿalayhim ʾaysara "moreover, as they did not have priority, and they did not possess anything entitling them for the Caliphate, and they did not have

anything preventing them from it very strongly, it was easier and more facile for them" (the reference has been lost).

la-ʾidh
Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī adduces one example attributed to the poet Abū al-Fatḥ: *fa-la-ʾidh ghaḍibti la-ʾashraban bi-xarūfi* "as you got angry, I will drink [wine] for [the price of] a lamb" (*Mughnī al-labīb*, I, 236).

la-matā
la-matā ṣalaḥta la-yuqḍayan la-ka ṣāliḥun "When you are righteous, good things will be decreed for you" (ibid., 235).

Conclusions

In this study I have tried to stress the following main points: 1. The phenomenon of adverbial clauses topics in frontal position is restricted in CA to conditional and temporal clauses, but is extended in later layers of Arabic and especially in MSA, where this phenomenon is attested in most types of adverbial clauses; 2. Arabic adverbial clauses in frontal position share the same semantic and formal features that characterize other kinds of topic-comment constructions; 3. The perception of adverbial clauses in frontal position as topics supplies a general comprehensive framework to seemingly unrelated phenomena in Arabic syntax, such as the occurrence of *fa-*, *wa-*, and *la-* after adverbial clauses in frontal position, as well as in other topic-comment structures. According to this perception, these particles share a common function, namely that of a comment marker, and this accounts also for the fact that these particles often occur interchangeably in the same constructions.

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5

CAUSAL AND ADVERSATIVE MEANINGS OF THE PARTICLE *LĀKIN* IN ARABIC

The Arabic coordinating particle *lākin* generally has an adversative meaning, and is rendered by the English "but", "yet" "however". Arabic grammars and dictionaries do not record occurrences of *lākin* with causal meaning, yet in some of the examples adduced in the present article, the context allows only a causal interpretation of *lākin*, while in other examples both causal and adversative interpretations are acceptable.

Non adversative usage of *lākin* may be the result of different processes: 1. an ellipsis of a proposition preceding *lākin*; 2. *lākin* being a homonym derived from originally two different particles; 3. a semantic change blurring the original meaning of the particle. In view of recent studies dedicated to adversative coordinators in various languages, and in view of the fact that in several examples the context allows different interpretations of the logic relation between the propositions separated by *lākin*, we would like to claim that causal usage of this particle is due to a semantic change resulting from its occurrence in what Lakoff calls "a denial of expectation" or "a denial of pre-supposition." This change of meaning is likely to take place when the underlying expectation or presupposition is so vague that the listener (or reader) does not necessarily share the same presupposition with the speaker (or writer). In this case he is likely to perceive a different relation between the two propositions. If the coordinating particle should frequently occur in such contexts, it might finally lose its original adversative meaning and turn into a causal particle.

The Hebrew particle *lākhēn* generally exhibits a causal meaning, and is translated by the English "therefore."[1] In some biblical verses, however, it might be interpreted as an adversative particle rendered by the English "yet therefore, nevertheless, however," e.g., Jer. 5:2, *wəʾim ḥay YHWH yōmērū lākhēn laššeqer yiššābhēʿū* "although they say, as God liveth, nevertheless they swear falsely."[2]

The Arabic coordinating particle *lākin* generally has an adversative meaning, and is rendered by the English "but, yet, however." Arabic grammars and dictionaries do not record occurrences of *lākin* with causal meaning,[3] yet in some of the examples adduced below, the context allows only a causal interpretation of *lākin*, while in other examples it allows both a causal and an adversative interpretation.

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[1] Gesenius, p. 403.

[2] Ibid., where additional verses with adversative meaning are adduced.

[3] Cf. Wright, I, p. 287; II, pp. 81; 82; 333–34; Reckendorf, pp. 130–31, § 66; idem, *Synt. Ver.*, pp. 364–65, § 129; Brockelmann, II, p. 480; Blachère, pp. 214; 381; 479; 493; Fischer, p. 158, § 340; LA, s.v. *lākin; Muġnī*, s.v. *lākin*.

Non-adversative usage of *lākin* may be the result of different processes: 1. an ellipsis of a proposition preceding *lākin* (see ex. 4, 9 below, and notes 6, 10 there), 2. *lākin* being a homonym derived from originally two different particles (see p. 110 below, and note 22 there); 3. a semantic change blurring the original meaning of the particle. In view of recent studies dedicated to adversative coordinators (e.g., Lakoff, Dascal-Katriel, Azar), and in view of the fact that in several examples the context allows different interpretations of *lākin*, we would like to claim that causal usage of *lākin* is due to a semantic change resulting from the occurrence of *lākin* in what Lakoff calls "a denial of expectation" or "a denial of pre-supposition." This change of meaning is likely to take place when the underlying expectation or presupposition is so vague that the listener (or reader) does not necessarily share the same pre-supposition with the speaker (or writer). In this case he is likely to perceive a different relation between the two propositions. Thus in a sentence such as, "John is a Republican but he is honest," if one presupposes that "Republicans are not honest," then *but* is interpreted as an adversative particle. Yet if one pre-supposes that "Republicans are honest," then the same sentence would show the relation of cause and result, *but* being interpreted as a causal particle meaning "therefore, 1. Republicans are honest; 2. John is a Republican, therefore he is honest." If *but* should frequently occur in such contexts, it might well lose its adversative meaning, and become a neutral coordinating particle. Now if it should often occur in such contexts, it might finally turn into a causal particle.

Let us examine now the relevant examples, which are drawn from different layers of Arabic, including Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic and Neo-Arabic dialects.

1. *mafrašī ṣahwatu l-ḥiṣāni wa-lākin-*
   na qamīṣī masrūdatun min ḥadīdī
   My bedspread is the back of the horses, therefore my shirt is stitched of iron (Mutanabbī, 20).

The first proposition is a positive one, and if *lākinna* is used to deny an expectation of a pre-supposition, it is not quite clear what is the denied expectation or pre-supposition. One is rather inclined to assume a relation of cause and result, i.e., I spend all my time on the back of horses [rather than in a sheltered place], therefore I wear armour plate.

2. *wa-laysat ʿašiyyātu l-ḥimā bi-rawāǧiʿin*
   ʿalayka wa-lākin xalli ʿaynayka tadmaʿā
   The nights at the pasture place are not going to return upon you, so let your eyes water (Ḥamāsa II, 55, by the poet aṣ-Ṣimma b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qušayrī).

Here the first proposition is negative, and the second one is the logical result of the statement expressed before. One can hardly think of an expectation or a pre-supposition to be denied by *lākin* in this context. A similar construction is exhibited in the following example:

3. *wa-lastu bi-ātīhī wa-lā astaṭīʿuhū*
   wa-lāki -sqinī in kāna māʾuka ḏā faḍlī
   I am not going to get it nor can I do it, so give me to drink if your water is in excess (Qays b. ʿAmr an-Naǧāši l-Ḥāriṯī, quoted in *Muġnī*, s.v. *lākin*).

Examples 4 and 5 fall within the scope of the structure "Neg. + S_1 + adversative + S_2" (Azar, § 1). In these constructions the second proposition serves to reject the first one. Hence *lākin* there seems to be identical with German, Spanish or Hebrew sentences containing *sondern*, *sino* and *ela* respectively.[4] Yet unlike the regular pattern of these sentences, the second proposition does not directly reject the first one,[5] but rather it occurs by deduction. Hence it is not clear whether *lākin* in these examples should be rendered by the English *but rather*, or by the English *therefore, so*, etc.

4. *wa-lastu bi-ḥallāli t-tilāʿi maxāfatan*
   wa-lākin matā yastarfidi l-qawmu arfidī
   I am not such a one who dwells at streams coming down the valleys out of fear [i.e., hiding from people who ask for support], but rather/therefore when people ask for support I help [them] (Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd, *Muʿallaqa*).

Medieval commentators were often confused by this verse and assumed an ellipsis to explain the occurrence of *lākin* here.[6] Yet this verse shows how an indirect rejection of a negative proposition may interchange with a proposition expressing a conclusion.

5. *mā naḥnu bi-l-laḏī nuʾminu wa-mā naḥnu bi-l-laḏī nuʿṭī l-ǧizyata wa-lākinnā nuqātilukum*

[4] Anscombre-Ducrot, pp. 24–28; Azar, pp. 134–35, § 1.
[5] Anscombre-Ducrot, pp. 24ff., Azar, pp. 134–35, § 1, d.
[6] al-ʿAskarī, p. 149.

We are not such as will embrace Islam nor such as will pay poll-tax, but rather/therefore we shall fight you.[7] (*Ḥilya* I, 189, 11).

In example 6 *lākin* follows a positive sentence. The relation between the two sentences coordinated by *lākin* is not quite clear. If it is used to reject a conclusion which might be deduced from the first sentence,[8] this conclusion cannot be directly deduced from that sentence. Hence the function of *lākin* in this context is ambiguous, and might well express a conclusion rather than a denial of a conclusion:

6. *iḏā l-mar'u lam yaḥtal wa-qad ǧadda ǧadduhū*
   aḍā'a wa-qāsā amrahū wa-hwa mudbirū
   wa-lākin axū l-ḥazmi l-laḏī laysa nāzilan
   bi-hi l-xaṭbu illā wa-hwa li-l-qaṣdi mubṣirū
   When a man does not use cunning when his lucky star shines, he misses the opportunity and suffers when it [i.e., his luck] turns its back on him, but/therefore a man of determination is the one who always perceives the right way when disaster descends upon him. (Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, *Ḥamāsa* I, 27).

In the following example *lākin* occurs in a complex where it is hard to identify the proposition to which it is coordinated:

7. *fa-qāla inna n-nāsa qad waqa'ū fīmā waqa'ū fīhi wa-qad ḥaddaṯtu nafsī allā uxāliṭahum fa-qāla la-hū wahbun lā taf'al fa-innahū lā budda li-n-nāsi minka wa-lā budda la-ka minhum la-hum ilayka ḥawā'iǧu wa-la-ka ilayhim ḥawā'iǧu wa-lākin kun fī-him aṣamma samī'an wa-a'mā baṣīran wa-sakūtan naṭūqan*
   And he said: People have fallen into what they have fallen, and I have made up my mind not to associate with them. W. replied to him: don't do it, for people cannot get along without you, nor can you get along without them, but rather/so be among them deaf while hearing and blind while seeing and taciturn while talking (Ibn Qutayba III, 21, 4ff.).

If *lākin* here is to be coordinated to the preceding *lā taf'al* "don't do it," then it is equivalent to the German *sondern*. But if it is coordinated to the proposition immediately preceding it, namely *la-hum ilayka ḥawā'iǧu wa-laka ilayhim ḥawā'iǧu* "they have certain needs from you, and you have certain needs from them," then it might well be interpreted as signifying a conclusion or a result, and rendered by the English *so, therefore,* etc.

A different usage of *lākin* relevant to our study is the one where

[7] Bravmann translates *lākin* by "but," see p. 38.
[8] Azar, p. 141, § 5a, b.

it follows a temporal or causal clause initiated by *lammā* or *ḥattā iḏā*. J. Blau has recorded quite a few examples of this structure in Middle Christian Arabic,[9] and one may add to them the following two examples from Classical Arabic:

8. *fa-axbarahum annahū muṣībuhumu l-ʿaḏābu wa-fāraqahum fa-lammā raʾaw ḏālika wa-ġašiyahumu l-ʿaḏābu lākinnahum xarağū min masākinihim wa-ṣaʿidū fī makānin rafīʿin*
And he told them that a torment was about to befall upon them, and he left them. And when they saw that, and the torment overwhelmed them, they went out of their dwellings and climbed upon a lofty place (Ṭabarī 1/2, 785, 14).

9. *fa-lam yakun qaryatun ġašiyahā l-ʿaḏābu ṯumma amsaka ʿanhā ilā qawmi yūnusa xāṣṣatan fa-lammā raʾā ḏālika yūnusu lākinnahū ḏahaba ʿātiban ʿalā rabbihī*
And there was no village upon which torment had descended then ceased, until the people of Y. especially. And as Y. saw that, he went blaming his Lord (Ṭabarī 1/2, 786, 2).[10]

In the last two examples *lākin(na)* initiates the main clause after *lammā*. As the logical relation between the two clauses is one of cause and result, it seems plausible to assume that *lammā* functions here as a causal conjunction,[11] whereas *lākin* functions as a pro-S, substituting the preceding causal clause, similarly to Hebrew *lākhēn* which is often attested between causal clauses and their apodoses.[12]

Constructions similar to the one recorded from Ṭabarī are also attested in Christian Arabic of the first millennium. In the examples adduced by J. Blau, *lākin* often introduces the apodosis of *lammā an* or *ḥattā iḏā*.[13] In all the examples there, the relation between the two clauses seems to be one of cause and result (in one case *lammā an* is actually translated "because"). Hence, in these examples *lākin* is not really used "in the sense of *fa*."[14] Indeed, in these examples both *fa-* and *lākin* may occur between the protases and the apodoses, but according to our interpretation *lākin* with its causative meaning

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[9] See examples 10–18 below.

[10] De Goeje, *Glossarium*, s.v. *lākin*. According to his interpretation, in example 8 above one should think of an ellipsis of *lam yaṭmaʾinnū* "they did not feel confident." See also Abu l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, II, p. 13, n. 5, according to whom the usage of *lākinna* in the last two examples is not clear.

[11] For *lammā* initiating causal clauses see Kinberg, § 2.5.2. For a general linguistic approach concerning the relation between temporal and causal conjunctions see Lakoff, pp. 126–27.

[12] Joüon, p. 524, § 170, o.

[13] Blau, *Ch. Ar.*, II, p. 460, § 356.

[14] Ibid.

functions as a pro-S, whereas *fa-* merely marks the beginning of the apodosis. Following are the examples adduced by Blau:

10. حتى اذا اتادبت الامم لكنه بعث اليهم ابنه

Then, after the nations had become well-disciplined, he sent them his Son.

11. حتى اذا بلغ الوقت الذي امر به يحنا بما امر به لكنه دعا الناس الى التوبة

Then, after the time had come in which John had ordered what he had ordered, he called the people to repentance.

12. فلما ان امن من الناس ومن بني اسرائيل من اراد الله به الايمان لكن الله وفق اولياانا

After those from the Gentiles and the Jews whom God had desired to believe, had believed, God helped our saints.

13. نخبرك ان الشيطان لما ان القي من درجته السماوية من سبب ادم لكنه حرد على ولد ادم

We inform you that after Satan had been divested of his heavenly rank because of Adam, he became irate at Adam's progency.

14. حتى اذا بلغ الحد الذي قدر للنهار ان ينتهي لكنه انكمش

Then, after he had reached the limit that he had fixed for the day to stop, it shrank.

15. حتى اذا اظهر الملك ... لكنه خرج

Then, when the king appeared . . ., he went out.

16. فلما ان راى مولاه عجزه لكنه عمل عنه بقية نهاره

After his Lord had seen that he was unable, he worked the rest of the day in his place.

17. فلما ان انكروا ذلك منه لكنه اظهر الجوع

Because they disapproved of this deed of his, he feigned being hungry.

18. حتى اذا كان صباح الاحد لكنه انبعث

Then on Sunday morning he quickened.

The following example attests to a causal usage of *lakin* in Judaeo-Arabic as well:

19. *wa-ammā* wa-yyēlakh wa ttiššābharnā *fa-kāna ḥaqquhū an yakūna* wa-yyēlākh wa ttiššābhārnā *fa-ṣaʿuba naqlu l-kasrati ilā fatḥatin kubrā dūna tadrīǧin lākin nuqilat ilā* pattāḥ
As for *wa-yyēlakt, wa-ttiššābharnā* it should have been *wa-yyēlakh wa-ttiššābharnā*, but it was hard to change the "break" into a "big opening"[15] without graduation (i.e., not gradually), therefore it was changed to *pattāḥ* (Judah Ha-Levi, 86, 11).[16]

It is interesting to note here that on several occasions the Arabic translation of the Bible[17] renders the Hebrew *lākhēn* by *lākin*, while in other cases it is translated by the Arabic *fa-inna*,[18] *li-ḏālika*,[19] etc.

20. *hal huwa qalīlun ʿalaykum an tuḍǧirū n-nāsa ḥattā taḍǧirū ilāhī ayḍan wa-lākin yuʿṭīkumu s-sayyidu nafsuhū āyatan* (Isa. 7:13).

21. *wa-lākin hākaḏā yaqūlu s-sayyidu rabbu l-ǧunūdi* (Isa. 10:24).

22. *lākin hā-anāḏā atamallaquhā wa-aḏhabu bi-hā ilā l-barriyyati* (Hos. 2:14 [16 in the Hebrew version]).

Finally, mention should be made of two particles relevant to our study which occur in the Syrian dialect, namely *lāken* "mais, cependant, pourtant,"[20] and *lakan**lakān* "donc."[21] The latter is attested in clauses of result where it substitutes an explicit or implicit clause of cause, e.g.,

23. *lákan mā bəddak tədji gáde?*
"tu ne viendras donc pas demain?" (ibid.).

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[15] Namely, the vowel *ṣērē* into *qāmaṣ*.

[16] It is interesting to note that the medieval translation into Hebrew by Ibn Tibbon renders *lākin* by the Hebrew *abhāl* (p. 135, 7), whereas the modern translation by Even Shmuel renders it by the Hebrew *lākhēn* "therefore" (p. 93, 8).

[17] See *Arabic Bible* in the list of references.

[18] E.g., Jer. 5:12.

[19] E.g., Isa. 16:7; Gen. 4:15.

[20] Barthélemy, p. 765.

[21] Ibid., pp. 764–65.

24. *ʾayyədhon lakān ʿal-əḥsāb xāṭrak*
"Enter them on your account, then" (Cowell, p. 527).

It is impossible to conclude here whether the particles *lāken/lakan* (*lakān*) in the Syrian dialect represent originally two different particles, or rather one particle which was later split along semantic demarcation. A. Barthélemy proposes two different derivations: *lāken* = negative *lā* + *ken*; *lakan* (*lakān*) = assertive *la* + the verb *kān*.[22] The present study however is an attempt to show that different meanings of the coordinator *lākin* should not necessarily be explained by a different derivation.

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[22] Scholars disagree about the derivation of Classical Arabic *lākin* as well. Some consider its first element as the assertive particle *la-* (Cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Ver.*, pp. 364–65; Blachère, p. 214), whereas others propose here the negative particle *lā* (cf. Brockelmann, II, p. 480).

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6

SOME TEMPORAL, ASPECTUAL, AND MODAL FEATURES OF THE ARABIC STRUCTURE *LA-QAD* + PREFIX TENSE VERB

The present paper aims to investigate an uncommon construction in Classical Arabic, namely *la-qad yafʿalu*. This structure is not satisfactorily recorded in grammars of Classical Arabic, and I would like to call attention to its occurrence mainly in poetry and marginally in prose.

With regard to the function of this structure within the verbal system of Classical Arabic, the following conclusions may be drawn: 1. The construction *la-qad yafʿalu*, unlike the more common *qad yafʿalu*, is marked as assertive and is restricted to initial position in main clauses; 2. It is marked as imperfective, denoting an iterative or a durative action (depending on the semantic category of the verb which follows it); 3. The time is not marked by this structure: it may denote either the present or the past, depending on the context. I have not recorded this structure with reference to future time, because the assertive future is usually expressed by *la-* followed by the energetic form of the verb (*la-yafʿalan/na*).

In this paper I would like to investigate an uncommon construction in Classical Arabic, namely *la-qad* + *yafʿalu*. Whereas the structure *la-qad* + suffix tense verb is quite common in all layers of Arabic, the form we are dealing with is quite rare, and is not satisfactorily recorded in grammars of CA. In the following pages I would like to call attention to the occurrence of this structure mainly in poetry and marginally in prose, and to consider some of the questions arising with regard to the time, aspect, and modality of this verbal complex, and its status among other constructions of the Arabic verbal system.

Grammars of CA generally do not make a distinction between constructions exhibiting *qad* and *la-qad*. Th. Nöldeke does not distinguish between *la-qad yafʿalu* and *qad yafʿalu*,[1] and remarks that in poetry this construction (or one should rather say "both constructions") is likely to occur instead of the combination *qad kâna yafʿalu*. Along with *qad yafʿalu* forms, he adduces several verses exhibiting *la-qad yafʿalu*, and translates them all as a habit or a durative action in the past:

[1] Th. Nöldeke, *Z. Gr.*, p. 70, § 57. This is also true of other works, which are dedicated to aspect and tense (see the list of sources). Some of these works do not deal with *qad* or *la-qad*.

1. *fa-la-qad urâ ḥasana l-qanâti qawîmahâ* "einst erschien ich als Mann von schönem, gradem Rohr (Statur)" (Agh. 19, 92, 3 v.u.).
2. *fa-la-qad tašuddu wa-taqtulu l-abṭâlâ* "so pflegtest du loszubrechen und die Helden zu tödten" (Tab. 2, 878, 15).
3. *wa-la-qad adxulu l-xibâ'a* "manchmal bin ich ins Zelt eingedrungen" (Muchtârât 104, 3).
4. *la-qad aqṭa'u s-sabâsiba* "manchmal habe ich die Einöden durchmessen" (eb. 104, 3).
5. *wa-la-qad aqdumu l-xamîsa* "wohl pflegte ich dem Heer voranzugehn" (eb. 104, 6).

   Nöldeke considers differently the two Koranic verses with *la-qad na'lamu* "wohl . . . wissen wir," namely:
6. *wa-la-qad na'lamu annaka yaḍîqu ṣadruka bi-mâ yaqûlûna* "We know indeed thy breast is straitened by the things they say" (Qur. 15:97, Arberry 1, 286, 18).
7. *wa-la-qad na'lamu annahum yaqûlûna* "and We know very well that they say . . ." (Qur. 16:103, Arberry 1, 298, 20).

Nöldeke remarks here: "*qad* bedeutet eben an sich nur eine Bestätigung, die sich meist auf den Begriff der Vergangenheit richtet, aber auch auf den Inhalt des Verbums selbst richten kann."[2] In other words Nöldeke recognizes that *qad* is not necessarily related to the notion of a past tense, and may function as an assertive particle affecting the semantic content of the verb rather than its time.

W. Wright does not distinguish between *qad yaf'alu* and *la-qad yaf'alu*, and mentions that the former is used "to express rarity or paucity,"[3] Robertson Smith adds the meaning of "frequency," and, following Nöldeke, he remarks that in poetry *qad arâ* may be used for *qad kuntu arâ* "*videbam.*"[4]

In his *Synt. Verh.*, H. Reckendorf states that "nicht so oft wie beim Perf. steht *qad* beim Imperf. Es führt hier die Handlung ein, die vor einem gewissen Moment andauerte oder sich wiederholte und erhielt die spezielle Bedeutung, dass eine Handlung in jenem Moment nicht zum ersten Male, sondern schon vorher mehr oder weniger häufig geschah, es bedeutet also sowohl 'manchmal' als 'gar manches Mal,' und endlich ist es einfach bekräftigend, indem es eigentlich die Handlung bezeichnete, die in einem gegebenen Augenblicke eintritt wie sie immer eintritt, oder wie sich nicht anders erwarten lässt."

[2] Ibid., p. 70, n. 2.
[3] Wright I, p. 286.
[4] Ibid., and Robertson Smith's footnote there.

Following this statement Reckendorf adduces examples with *qad yafʿalu* along with *la-qad yafʿalu* making no distinction.[5]

C. Brockelmann follows Reckendorf's statement that *qad* before the imperfect is less common than before the perfect, and he notes three basic meanings of this construction. 1. It denotes that an action began to take place already in the past, e.g., *qad narâ taqalluba waǧhika fî s-samâʾi* "wir sahen schon, wie du dich nach dem Himmel zu hinwandtest" Sûra 2:139; *wa-qad akûnu ṣaḥîḥa ṣ-ṣadri fanṣadaʿa* "wohl war ich einmal gesund an der Brust, dann aber hat sie sich gespalten" Aġ.[2] X, 106, 21; 2. It may also denote that an action always takes place again, while it happened before, e.g., *qad yudriku l-mutaʾannî baʿḍa ḥâǧatihi wa-qad yakûnu maʿa l-mustaʿǧili z-zalalu* "manchmal erreicht der Zögernde etwas von dem, was ihm nottut, während der Eilende ins Straucheln kommt" Ǧamh. 151, 8 v.u. = Aġ.[1] XX, 12 (zit. Nöldeke Z. Gr. § 57); 3. Finally *qad* before the imperfect may be used for strengthening, just as it does before the perfect "einfach als Bekräftigung dienen," e.g., *qad yaʿlamu* "wohl weiss er" Sûra 24, 14 (Nöldeke a.a.O.).[6] Brockelmann does not cite examples with *la-qad yafʿalu.*

In his *Arabische Syntax*, Reckendorf specifies three meanings in *qad yafʿalu*: 1. It may denote "a weakening": "Es steht dann 'zur Abschwächung'" (*li-t-taqlîl*); 2. a frequent action: "oder bedeutsam eine gar manchesmal eintretende Handlung. In diesem Falle steht es 'zur Verstärkung'" (*li-t-takṯîr*); 3. It may express a past (Präterital): *qad arâhâ ka-miṯli l-layli fâḥimatan* "(einst) sah ich es schwarz wie die Nacht"; *ġayra an qad yaḥulluhâ šaxṣun ʿalayya karîmun* "nur dass einst ein mir teures Wesen darin wohnte."[7] Reckendorf does not adduce here any examples with *la-qad.*

In his *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Wolfdietrich Fischer does not distinguish between *la-qad* and *qad* with the prefix tense verb. He says,[8] "In Verbindung mit *qad* bezeichnet das Impf. einen möglicherweise oder wahrscheinlich eintretenden Vorgang: 'manchmal, vielleicht geschieht . . .,' 'es könnte sein, daß geschieht . . .'"

R. Blachère and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes do not distinguish between *qad* and *la-qad.* The former is said to express either rein-

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[5] H. Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, § 112, p. 299, l. 4 f.b.ff. See examples 16, 18, 25 below.
[6] C. Brockelmann, II, § 325b, p. 508.
[7] H. Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.*, § 155, 3., pp. 302–303.
[8] W. Fischer, § 189, b, p. 95.

forcement or a habit: "*qad* parfois employé devant ce mode qui énonce alors un *présent vague* (en franç.: prés. de l'indic.), sert soit à renforcer l'expression, soit à marquer le caractère habituel ou itératif du procès."[9]

I would like to add to the examples adduced above several others, most of which occur in poetry (except for nos. 8, 25, 28). Although in some of these examples *la-qad yafʿalu* refers to the past, it should be emphasized that the past time reference is not intrinsically marked by this structure, but is rather inferred from the context, or in Kuryłowicz' wording, it "is context-conditioned," rather than "system conditioned" (p. 115). This is clearly shown by the fact that in other examples, where the context does not require a past tense interpretation, this structure does not imply a past tense altogether.

From the examples exhibiting *la-qad yafʿalu* we can see that this structure is also marked as "imperfective." In other words, it denotes a habit, repeated action, or a durative aspect,[10] depending on the semantic category of the verb: with "non-conclusive" verbs[11] such as *raʾâ, kâna, ʿalima* it denotes a durative aspect; with "conclusive" verbs such as *šadda, daxala, qaṭaʿa, râḥa, qâla* it denotes a repeated action or a habit. This feature is also shared by the construction *qad yafʿalu*, as can be seen in the examples adduced above from Brockelmann's *Grundriss*.

Another feature marked by this structure is a modal one, namely assertion by the speaker/writer that the statement is true.[12] This is denoted by the prefix *la-* (the assertive *la-, lâm at-taʾkîd*). The structure *qad yafʿalu* without *la-* may also denote an assertion, but unlike *la-qad yafʿalu*, it is not marked as such, and in certain contexts may denote possibility and even doubt (the so-called *qad li-t-taqlîl*).

I would also like to stress a syntatic characteristic of *la-qad yafʿalu* which it shares with *la-qad faʿala*, namely they both occur in initial position in the sentence (except for coordinators such as *wa-*, *fa-*,

[9] R. Blachère & M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, § 165, p. 253.

[10] This feature is well emphasized in the sources cited above.

[11] I use this term here according to O. Jespersen's definition, namely verbs "denoting an activity which is not begun in order to be finished, e.g., love, hate, praise, blame, admire, see, hear, etc." (O. Jespersen, pp. 272ff.). This category is basically identical with what A.F.L. Beeston calls "verbs with static value" (Beeston, pp. 76–78).

[12] This feature is disregarded by the sources mentioned above, as they do not distinguish between *qad* and *la-qad* before the prefix conjugated verb.

and oaths which may precede it). Moreover, they both occur in main sentences or coordinated ones, and not in subordinated clauses (except for circumstantial clauses, which are syntactically identical in Arabic to coordinated clauses). By this syntactic feature too, *la-qad yafʿalu* differs from *qad yafʿalu* which may occur as a subordinated element in the sentence, e.g., *kâna qad yafʿalu, innaka qad tafʿalu*, etc.

It is interesting to note here, that whereas *la-qad faʿala* frequently occurs after oaths as *ǧawâb al-qasam*,[13] the construction *la-qad yafʿalu* is not common after oaths.[14] When the imperfect form of the verb initiates the *ǧawâb al-qasam* it is generally in the energetic form, and is marked as a future tense; it is seldom *la-yafʿalu* without *qad*, when it denotes a present tense. Examples which do not express a future tense are quite rare. From the few examples recorded, it seems that *la-yafʿalu* may occur in *ǧawâb al-qasam* when the verb is "non-conclusive," and it then denotes a durative action,[15] while *la-qad yafʿalu* occurs with "conclusive" verbs to express an iterative action.

8. *ayyuhâ l-qawmu innî wa-llâhi la-qad arâ taʿḏîrakum*
   wa-karâhiyyatakum li-ṭaʿâmî
   O fellows, by God, I see your pretense and your disgust of my food (Isaʿd III/1, 200, 16).
9. *wa-la-qad arâ anna l-bukâʾa safâhatun*
   wa-la-sawfa yûlaʿu bi-l-bukâ man yufǧaʿû
   I think that crying is inconstancy, and [only] he who is pained [by calamity] will obstinately persist in crying (Huḏal. I, 7, 4).
10. *usâʾilu ṣâḥibî wa-la-qad arânî*
    baṣîran bi-z-zaʿâʾini ḥayṯu sârû
    I question my companion—and yet I think that I can myself see clearly whither the ladies are taking their way (Mufaḍḍ., 660, 16, by Bišr b. Abî Xâzim, Lyall, 278).
11. *fa-fadawhu lâ li-ṯawâbihî wa-la-qad yurâ*
    bi-yamînihî nadabun mina l-aġlâlî

[13] I have dedicated a separate article to *qad* in *ǧawâb al-qasam*; see N. Kinberg, "Some modal, aspectual and syntactic constraints on the usage of *qad*."

[14] In example 8 below, *la-qad yafʿalu* immediately follows an oath, yet it does not function as *ǧawâb al-qasam* because the oath does not occur in initial position, and consequently it does not require a complement. I have recorded three examples of *la-qad yafʿalu* in the apodosis of *la-ʾin*; see examples 26–28 below. The apodosis of *la-ʾin* is often identical with *ǧawâb al-qasam*; Arab grammarians actually consider it as the complement of an oath, and the conditional clause is, according to their interpretation, elliptic.

[15] For *la-yafʿalu* in *ǧawâb al-qasam* after *la-ʾin*, see Kinberg, "A study of *la-ʾin* clauses," § e, p. 210.

and they redeemed him, not for his reward, while one could see in his right hand scars made by the manacles (Farazdaq II, 162, 10).

12. *wa-innî la-astabqîkumû wa-la-qad arâ*
la-bi'sa l-mawâlî law yariqqu la-kum 'azmî
I guard you against evils, while I know you will be bad supporters, if I should get because of you very weak of age (Naqâ'iḍ, 180, 16).

13. *wa-taġâṭasat 'ammâ bi-nâ wa-la-qad tarâ*
an qad taxallalti l-fu'âda bi-ashumî
She pretended not to notice what had happened to us, while seeing that you had stabbed our heart with arrows [of love] ('Umar b. Abî Rabî'a, 228, 3).

14. *wa-la-qad takûnu iḏâ taḥullu bi-ġibṭatin*
ayyâma ahluka bi-d-diyâri ḥulûlû
When you settle down you are in happiness, in the days when your family stays at their abodes (Ğarîr, 473, 2).

15. *allâhu saxxarahâ bi-kaffay xâlidin*
wa-la-qad takûnu 'azîzata l-aḏrârî
God has made it [i.e., the Tigris river] subservient by the hands of Xâlid, whereas it used to be abounding and strong (Farazdaq, I, 270, 2).

16. *wa-la-qad yakûnu la-ka l-ba'î*
-du axan wa-yaqṭa'uka l-ḥamîmû
manchmal ist dir der Fernstehende ein Bruder und der Nahestehende bricht dir die Treue (Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, 300, quoted from the *Ḥamâsa*).

17. *fa-la-qad arûḥu 'alâ t-tiğâri muraǧǧalan*
maḏilan bimâlî layyinan aǧyâdî
[If now thou seest me a wreck, worn out and minished of sight] . . . Times was I went every night, hair combed, to sellers of wine, and squandered lightly my wealth, compliant, easy of mood (Mufaḍḍ., 452, 4, by al-Aswad b. Ya'fur, Lyall, 162).

18. *wa-la-qad yuǧâ'u ilâ ḏawî l-aḥqâdî*
man kommt ja auch heimlichen Hassern zu Hilfe (Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, 300, quoted from the *Ḥamâsa*).

19. *wa-la-qad aqûlu li-man da'â-*
hu mina l-hawâ mâ qad da'ânî
and I say to those who have been called by passion just like me (Abû Nuwâs, 290, 2).

20. *wa-la-qad uṣâḥibu ṣâḥiban ḏâ ma'qatin*
bi-ṣiḥâbi muttali'i l-aḏâ niqrîsî
wa-la-qad uzâḥimu ḏâ š-šaḏâti bi-mizḥamin
ṣa'bi l-budâhati ḏî šaḏan wa-šarîsî
wa-la-qad alînu li-kulli bâġî ni'matin
wa-la-qad uǧâzî ahla kulli ḥawîsî
wa-la-qad udâwî dâ'a kulli mu'abbadin
bi-'aniyyatin ġalabat 'alâ n-niṭṭîsî

And oft-times have I companied with a hot-tempered companion, with the fellowship of a man experienced and patient in hearing annoyances, skillful in dealing with them; And oft-times I return the thrust of him that plagues me with a shoulder hard in its sudden attack, difficult to withstand, full of mischief; And oft-times I physic the disease of those smitten with mange, applying thereto a lotion that overcomes the most dainty of those I treat (Mufaḍḍ., 193, 8, by ʿAbd Allâh b. Salima l-Ġâmidiyy).

21. *wa-la-qad tusâʿifunâ d-diyâru wa-ʿayšunâ*
    law dâma ḏâki bi-mâ nuḥibbu ẓalîlû
    Our abodes are near us, and our subsistence, if it lasts, secures the things we like (Ǧarîr, 473, 3).
22. *wa-la-qad tawakkalu bi-s-suhâdi li-ḥubbikum*
    ʿaynun tabîtu qalîlata t-tahwîmî
    Because of your love, an eye assumed wake upon itself, an eye which spent the nights with little sleep (Ǧarîr, 531, 8).
23. *wa-la-qad yaḥullu bi-hâ l-ǧamîʿu wa-fîhimû*
    ḥûru l-ʿuyûni ka-annahunna ṣiwârû
    Everybody stops there, among them women with marked contrast between the white of the cornea and the black of the iris, as if they are a flock of cows (Farazdaq, 465, 7).
24. *kaḏabtum banî salmâ la-qad takḏibu l-munâ*
    wa-turdâ ṣafâtu l-ḥarbi ḥattâ taṣaddaʿâ
    You have lied, O Banû Salmâ; wishes do lie, and the solid stone of war may be broken until it splits (Farazdaq, I, 402, 4).
25. *la-qad aqûmu maqâman law yaqûmu bi-hî l-fîlu . . .*
    wahrlich, ich stehe an einem Platze—wenn ein Elefant an ihm stünde, so . . . (Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, 300, quoted from Ibn Hišâm).
26. *la-ʿamrî la-ʾin kânat beǧîlatu aṣbaḥat*
    qadi-htadamat ahla l-ǧudûdi ǧudûduhâ
    la-qad tudliqu l-ġârâti yawma liqâʾihâ
    wa-qad kâna ḍarrâbî l-ǧamâǧimi ṣîduhâ
    By my life, if it turns out that the grandfathers of Baǧîla oppress the wealthy ones, they rush forward the raiding horses on the day of encountering them and those who strike the chiefs with their swords were their chase (Kinberg, *la-ʾin*, 211, quoted from Farazdaq).
27. *la-ʾin aṣbaḥa l-wâšûna qarrat ʿuyûnuhum*
    bi-haǧrin maḍâ aw ṣurmi ḥablin taǧaddamâ
    la-qad tuṣbiḥu d-dunyâ ʿalaynâ qaṣîratan
    ǧamîʿan wa-mâ nufšî l-ḥadîṯa l-mukattamâ
    If the calumniators become delighted
    at a parting that was concluded or at a broken
    treaty that was cut off
    The world becomes short upon us
    all and we do not divulge the secret story (ibid., quoted from Farazdaq).

28. *la-ʾin kâna yasmaʿu baʿḍahû la-qad yasmaʿu kullahû*
wenn er einen Teil hört, hört er das Ganze (Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.*, p. 690, l. 16, quoted from Buxârî).

Conclusion

The examples adduced above show that the construction *la-qad yafʿalu* differs from *qad yafʿalu*. The former is marked as assertive, whereas the latter is not; the former occurs in initial position in main clauses, whereas the latter occurs in subordinated constructions as well.

The form *la-qad yafʿalu* is marked as expressing an imperfective aspect denoting an iterative or a durative action, depending to a great extent on the semantic category of the verb which follows it.

The time expressed by this structure is not marked: it may denote either the present or the past, depending on the context. I have not recorded any future reference with this form, and it seems that the assertive future is rather expressed by *la-* followed by the energetic form, namely *la-yafʿalanna.*

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7

SOME MODAL, ASPECTUAL AND SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS ON THE USE OF *QAD* IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM OF CLASSICAL ARABIC

In the verbal system of Classical Arabic the particle *qad* may precede the suffix- or prefix-tense verb. When *qad* precedes the prefix-tense verb it generally implies modality of doubt, uncertainty, possibility, etc.[1] When it precedes the suffix-tense verb its meaning depends to a great extent upon the context, showing an intersection of tense, aspect and modality. Thus in some contexts *qad* with the suffix-tense verb implies certainty;[2] in other contexts an action close to the present;[3] yet in others a performative action;[4] a "resultative"/"perfective" aspect,[5] etc.[6] Moreover, not only is the meaning of *qad* determined largely by the context, but its occurrences are also quite predictable in certain syntactical environments. Thus, the occurrence of *qad* is generally blocked in contexts exhibiting different degrees of "negativity",

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[1] Cf. Wright I, p. 286, § 362 (z).

[2] Hence one of its names is "the particle indicating perfect certainty" (*ḥarf at-taḥqīq*).

[3] Arab grammarians often call *qad* "*ḥarf at-taqrīb*" because it approximates the past to the present (*li'annahā tuqarribu l-māḍiya mina l-ḥāli*), cf. *Muġnī*, ibid.; De Sacy, pp. 176–178; Wright, ibid.; Reckendorf, p. 300; Blachère II, p. 248, § 151.

[4] Wright II, p. 4 A.

[5] Reckendorf considers any construction of *qad* with the suffix-tense verb as "resultative": "Das Perf. nach *qad* ist immer resultatives Perf. (*qad qatala*) "er hat getötet" oder "er hatte getötet", aber nicht historisches Perf. ("er tötete"), ibid., p. 301. According to Beeston (p. 78) "*qad* transforms a suffix set item with dynamic aspect into one with static aspectual value, and hence no definite time marking". He states that *qad* is appropriate only in static predicates (i.e., "we knew all along that he was foreign"), but not with dynamic ones (i.e., "we knew the moment he opened his mouth that he was foreign"). See also Worrell, p. 133; Fischer, § 189; Bloch, p. 723.

[6] Arab grammarians often call *qad* "the particle of expectation" (*ḥarf at-tawaqquʿ*), indicating that the act has taken place "in accordance or non-accordance with what was, or might be expected" (Wright II, p. 3 D, and p. 4, Rem. b); cf. also the commentary of as-Sīrāfī to Sībawayhi, p. 459, and Ibn Yaʿīš, VIII, p. 147. Reckendorf interprets it in a different way: "es hat immer den Sinn einer Bestätigung" *lā budda fīhā min maʿnā t-tawaqquʿi* (ibid., p. 300). The author of LA ascribes the interpretation of "expectation" in *qad* to al-Xalīl b. Aḥmad, the famous teacher of Sībawayhi (LA, s.v. *qad*). Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī rejects this meaning of *qad* altogether (*Muġnī*, s.v. *qad*).

such as negative clauses,[7] questions initiated by *hal*,[8] protases of conditional sentences initiated by *in*,[9] etc. On the other hand, in some syntactic contexts *qad* is quite obligatory, namely when the suffix-tense verb initiates a circumstantial clause;[10] when it follows *iḏā l-fujā'iyya*;[11] presentative particles;[12] a second object of *af'āl al-qulūb*,[13] etc.

In the present paper I will examine the occurrences of *qad* in one syntactic context where its occurrence is highly predictable, namely in the so-called "complement of the oath" (*jawāb al-qasam*).[14] My motives for focusing this study upon that specific syntactic environment are the following: the insertion of *qad* in this particular context is quite predictable, hence an examination of examples without *qad* is likely to reveal some constraints on its occurrence; the complement of the oath, more than other syntactic constructions where *qad* is predictable (i.e., circumstantial clauses; *iḏā l-fujā'iyya*; second object of *af'āl al-qulūb*) is neutral with regard to the tense and aspect of the verb, hence it is more suitable for assessing the influence of tense and aspect upon the occurrence of *qad*. Finally, the complement of the oath is modally among the most emotional, emphatic, subjective contexts, consequently, it is particularly suitable for examining whether modality *per se* suffices for triggering off the insertion of *qad*.

The following examples do not constitute a representative sampling of the occurrences of *qad*. They were rather selected with the purpose of demonstrating certain constraints on the use of *qad* in Pre-Classical and Classical Arabic texts.[15]

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[7] Reckendorf, p. 303, § 155, 4.

[8] Worrell, p. 135ff.

[9] Trumpp, p. 366. It does occur however in hypothetical conditionals initiated by *law* (cf. ibid., p. 342; Kinberg, pp. 28–30, § 2.1.5.1.).

[10] Cf. LA, s.v. *qad*; Reckendorf, p. 450, § 219, 1; Fischer, p. 186, § 409, especially rem. 1.

[11] Cf. *Muġnī*, s.v. *qad*.

[12] See for instance the examples adduced by Nöldeke, § 41, where most of the examples with suffix-tense verbs are initiated by *qad*. The exceptions without *qad* are mostly Pre-Classical (according to Fischer's classification, cf. note 15 below), so in these texts the occurrences of *qad* are syntactically less predictable than in later layers. Thus among the numerous examples adduced by Blau of presentative constructions in Christian Arabic texts, I have noted only 3 cases where the suffix-tense verb following a presentative is not preceded by *qad* (cf. Blau II, pp. 461–468, §§ 360–367).

[13] Cf. for instance Wright II, p. 5, § 3(b).

[14] Cf. Wright II, pp. 175 D–176 A.

[15] According to Fischer's definition Pre-Classical Arabic is prior to the Golden

1. *Constructions without qad*

1.1 *With "non-conclusive" verbs*[16]

In texts exhibiting Pre-Classical Arabic, *qad* is often missing when the complement of the oath (*jawāb al-qasam*) is initiated by a "non-conclusive" verb, i.e., a verb "denoting an activity which is not begun in order to be finished, e.g., love, hate, praise, blame, admire, see, hear, etc." Our examples show that in Pre-Classical texts, *qad* is often missing before verbs such as *wadda* "want, wish"; *ṭāla* "last long"; *qalla* "be little, rare"; *ẓalla* "remain"; *kāna* "be"; *fakkara* "contemplate"; *xāla* "imagine"; *ḥamalat* "carry (a baby in her womb)"; *nāma* "be asleep"; *raʾā* "see"; *raddada* "repeat".[17]

Examples: *qad* missing before the verb *wadda* "wish":
wallāhi la-wadidnā annā mitnā qablahū "By God, we wished we had died before him" (Sīra II, 660, 12); *wa-llāhi la-wadidtu anna baʿḍakum kafānīhi* "By God, I wish that one of you would save me from this" (ISaʿd III/1, 150, 28); *yā umma saʿdin wallāhi la-wadidtu anna dirʿa saʿdin kānat aṣbaġa mimmā hiya* "Oh S's mother, by God, I wish that S's breastplate were longer" (Sīra II, 227, 2); *wallāhi la-wadidtu annī uqāḍī ʿalā an yuḍraba kullu rajulin minnā miʾata jaldatin* "By God, I would like to demand one hundred lashes for each one of us" (Sīra II, 525, 3); *naʿam wallāhi la wadidtu annī lam axruj maʿakum ʿāmī fī hāḏā s-safari* "Yes by God, I wish I did not go out with you this year on this trip" (Sīra II, 601, 19); *amā wallāhi la-wadidtu anna s-sayfa axaḏa minka maʾxaḏahū* "By God, I wish the sword had taken possession of you" (Maḥāsin 115, 18); *amā wallāhi yā nabiyya llāhi la-wadidtu anna llaḏī bika bī* "By God, oh Prophet of God, I wish I had what you have" (ISaʿd II/2, 85, 7). See also: ISaʿd III/2, 252, 23; Balāḏurī V, 221, 17; 228, 20; Quṭāmī 35, 6; ISaʿd V, 121, 7.[18]

Age of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, 8th–9th centuries A.D., in which the ʿArabiyya was consolidated by the work of Muslim philologists. Classical Arabic he defines as the Golden Age of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, 8th–9th centuries A.D. (cf. Fischer, pp. 1–3).

[16] The terms "non-conclusive" and "conclusive", as well as the definitions quoted below were proposed by Jespersen (pp. 272ff.). For a definition of the "conclusive" category of verbs cf. § 1.2 below. This distinction is essentially identical to that made by Beeston (pp. 76–8) between verbs with static value versus verbs with dynamic value.

[17] In Classical Arabic however *qad* is attested even before "non-conclusive" verbs.

[18] In many other cases *la-* precedes the verb *wadda* "wish, want" even outside

qad missing before *qalla* "be rare":
wa-aymu llāhi la-qalla mā ra'aytu rijālan hum aḥsanu hay'atan ... min rijālin arāhum ma'aka "By God, seldom have I seen people with a nicer shape ... than the people I see with you" (Ṭabarī II/1, 553, 12);[19] *wallāhi la-qalla mā ra'aytu jamā'ata xaylin qaṭṭu akrama minhā* "By God, seldom have I seen a group of horses nobler than this one" (Ṭabarī II/1, 554, 9); *wallāhi la-qalla mā jā'anā min ahli l-kūfati* "By God, seldom have people from Kūfa come to us" (Ṭabarī 11/3, 1399, 4).

qad missing before *ṭāla* "be long"[20]
amā wallāhi la-in naṣabtahā mayyitan la-ṭāla mā naṣabtahā ḥayyan "By God, if you straighten it being dead, how often did you straighten it while alive" (ISa'd V, 48, 27); *wallāhi la-in kunta 'alā jabhatika ba'da l-mamāti la-ṭāla mā-ftaraštahā ḥayyan* "By God, if you are upon your forehead after death, how often did you sprawl upon it while alive (ISa'd V, 51, 5); *fa-la-in ṣadarta la-taṣduranna bi-ḥājatin wa-la-in suqīta la-ṭāla ḏā taḥwāmā* "If you come back, you come back with a need, and if you are watered, you have long been wandering thirsty around the water" (Naqā'iḍ 39, 1). See also: Naqā'iḍ 127, 13; 838, 7; Farazdaq 53, 10; 592, 14; 784, 9.

qad missing before *ẓalla* "remain"
wa-la-in arsalnā rīḥan fa-ra'awhu muṣfarran la-ẓallū min ba'dihī yakfurūna "But if We loosen a wind, and they see it growing yellow, they remain after that unbelievers" (Qur'ān 30:51).

qad missing before *hamma* "intend"
wallāhi la-hamamtu an uhadhida s-sināna fī 'aynika "By God, I intended to move about the spear-head in your eye" (Ṭabarī II/1, 363, 2); *wallāhi la-hamamtu an aḍriba 'unuqahū* "By God, I would like to kill him" (Ṭabarī II/2, 1043, 10); *wallāhi la-hamamtu an uqayyidahū bihī* "By God, I would like to tie him because of it" (Ṭabarī III/1, 376, 13).

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the context an oath, e.g. Sīra II, 569, 5; 623, 6; Sīra III, 108, 10; Balāḏurī IVb, 65, 3; Balāḏurī V, 40, 13; 73, 7; 373, 18; ISa'd III/2, 207, 14; 229, 27; *Buxalā'*, 97, 6, n.b.; I have not recorded any occurrences of *qad* with the verb *wadda*.

[19] Historically this construction consisted of the state verb *qalla* with a nominalized relative clause as its subject. From a synchronical point of view, however, *qallamā* may be considered as a conjunction (cf. Wehr, s.v.).

[20] Cf. note 19 above. The same applies for the verb *ṭāla*.

qad missing before *fakkara* "contemplate"
wallāhi la-fakkartu ʿalā firāšī ṭawīlan ataʿajjabu min qawmin labbasa llāhu ʿuqūlahum "By God, I was contemplating for long time upon my bed, being amazed at people that God had made their minds unclear" (ISaʿd V, 239, 9).

qad missing before *xāla* "imagine"
fa-wallāhi la-xiltuhū yanṭiqu bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin li-ḥusni mā samiʿtuhū min ṣawtihī "By God, I imagined it talking Arabic, because of its nice voice which I heard" (Riwāyāt 46, 5).

qad missing before *ḥamala* "carry [in one's womb]"
wallāhi la-ḥamaltuhū fa-mā kuntu ajidu mā tajidu n-nisāʾu mina l-ḥamli "By God, I was carrying him [in my womb], but I did not find the symptoms of pregnancy which women find" (ISaʿd 1/2, 87, 20).

qad missing before *nāma* "sleep"
ḥalaftu lahā billāhi ḥalfata fājirin la-nāmū fa-mā in min ḥadīṯin wa-lā ṣālī "I swore to her by God the oath of a libertine, they were sleeping and there was not talk nor anybody roasting [meat]" (Šantamarī 48, 4).

qad missing before *inhāla* "fall in a heap"
fa-wallaḏī baʿaṯahū bi-l-ḥaqqi nabiyyan la-nhālat ḥattā ʿādat ka-l-kaṯībi "By the one who has sent him with the truth as a prophet, it [i.e. the big rock] fell in a heap, until it became like heaps of sand" (Sīra II, 218, 1).

qad missing before *raddada* "repeat"
fa-wallāhi la-raddada ḏālika ʿalayya ḥattā ẓanantu annahū sa-yumawwilunī "By God, he repeated it before me until I thought that he would render me wealthy" (Ṭabarī III/1, 409, 3).

qad missing before *raʾā* "see"
fa-wallāhi la-raʾaytuhū yakrudu akṯara min miʾatayni mina n-nāsi "And by God, I saw him driving away more than two hundred people" (Ṭabarī II/1, 354, 8); *fa-wallāhi la-raʾaytuhumu zdaḥamu ʿalā qabrihī akṯara mini zdiḥāmi n-nāsi ʿalā l-ḥajari l-aswadi* "And by God, I saw them crowding together over his tomb more than people crowding over the black stone [i.e., the Kaʿba]" (Ṭabarī II/1, 547, 4).

qad missing before *kāna* "be"
fa-wallāhi la-kāna ka-mā qāla "By God, it happened as he had said" (Ṭabarī III/1, 313, 20); *fa-wallāhi la-kāna akṯara mā ʿindī an jaʿaltu aqūlu* "And by God, the most I could do was to begin speaking" (Ṭabarī III/1, 314, 4).

1.2 *With "conclusive" verbs*[21]

In Pre-Classical Arabic *qad* is also missing before "conclusive" verbs, i.e., verbs which are "confined to one single moment, e.g., catch, surprise, awake, leave, end, kill, or imply a final aim, e.g., make, bring about, adorn, construct, beat". In these cases the verb denotes the aorist,[22] or a dynamic non-static non-resultant aspect.[23]

Examples: *fa-wallāhi la-nazala rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ilā ṣ-ṣubḥi wa-anāxa wa-nazaltu ʿan ḥaqībati rāḥilihī* "And by God, the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, descended for the morning prayer and made [the camel] kneel down, and I went down from upon the clothes carried behind his camel's saddle" (Sīra II, 342, 13); *wallāhi la-ʿudtuhū baʿda ḏālika fī maraḍihī* "By God, I visited him after that during his sickness" (Ṭabarī II/1, 312, 9); *fa-wallāhi la-ḍarabnāhum ḥattā axrajnāhum mina s-sikaki kullihā ṯumma rajaʿna ilā ṣāḥibaynā* "And by God we struck them until we drove them away from all the roads, then we returned to our two friends" (Ṭabarī II/1, 530, 2); *wallāhi la-xarajnā natbaʿu āṯāra n-nāsi fa-antahī ilā ʿabdi r-raḥmāni bni muḥammadi bni l-ašʿaṯi wa-muḥammadi bni ʿabdi r-raḥmāni bni saʿīdi bni qaysini l-hamaḏāniyyi wa-humā yamšiyāni* "By God, we went out following the traces of the people and I ultimately got to ʿA. ar-R. b. M. b. al-A. and M. b. ʿA. ar-R. b. S. b. Q; al-H. while both of them were walking" (Ṭabarī II/2, 955, 6); *fa-wallāhi la-qaṭaʿat bi-r-rakbi mā yaqdiru ʿalayhā šayʾun min ḥumurihim* "And by God, it carried

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[21] For the distinction between "conclusive" and "non-conclusive" verbs cf. also note 16 above.

[22] Jespersen distinguishes between "aorist preterit" and "imperfect preterit" (ibid., pp. 275ff.): "The aorist carries the narrative on, it tells us what happened next, while the imperfect lingers over the conditions as they were at that time and expatiates on them with more or less of proximity". This is in accordance with the observation made by Fischer (p. 94, § 189a): "Die Erzählfunktion des Perf. ist durch *qad* ausgeschlossen".

[23] According to Beeston (p. 78) too, *qad* is appropriate only in static predicates, not in dynamic ones.

the riders while none of their donkeys was able to keep up" (Sīra I, 173, 1); *wallāhi la-māta ʿabdu r-raḥmāni wa-inna raʾsahū la-ʿalā faxiḏī* "By God, ʿA. ar-R. died while his head was on my thigh" (Ṭabarī II/2, 1134, 5); *wallāhi la-māta abī fa-mā awṣā bi-ḥarfayni* "By God, my father died and he had not bequeathed even two letters" (ISaʿd II/2, 51, 21); *wallāhi la-tuwuffiya rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama wa-innahū la-mustanidun ilā ṣadri ʿaliyyin* "By God, the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, died while being recumbent against ʿA.'s chest" (ISaʿd II/2, 51, 21); *aw la-ātiyanna bi-xamsīna rajulan min banī tamīmin yašhadūna bi-llāhi kulluhum la-qutila ṣāḥibukum kāfiran* "or I shall bring fifty people of Banū Tamīm, all of them swearing by God that your friend was killed as an infidel" (Sīra II, 629, 1).

2. *Constructions with qad*

2.1 *With "conclusive" verbs*

In Pre-Classical Arabic, when *qad* occurs before "conclusive" verbs, it generally denotes a perfective static resultant aspect. In Classical Arabic however, *qad* occurs even before "conclusive" verbs with dynamic aspect. In these cases *qad* denotes a "subordinate division of time", i.e., a point in time anterior to some other point mentioned or implied in the sentence concerned.[24] The suffix-tense verb with *qad* here does not denote the static resultant aspect.[25]

Examples: *tāllāhi la-qad ʿalimtum mā jiʾnā li-nufsida fi l-arḍi* "By God, you know that we did not come to do mischief in the land" (Qurʾān 12:73); *tāllāhi la-qad āṯaraka llāhu ʿalaynā wa-in kunnā la-xāṭiʾīna* "By God, now hath God chosen thee above us; and we have surely been sinners" (Qurʾān 12:91); *tāllāhi la-qad arsalnā ilā umamin min qablika fa-zayyana lahumu š-šayṭānu aʿmālahum* "By God, we have heretofore sent messengers unto the nations before thee: but Satan prepared their works for them" (Qurʾān 16:63); *lā wallāhi yā abā muwayhibata la-qadi xtartu liqāʾa rabbī wa-l-jannata* "No by God, oh A.M., I have chosen

[24] Cf. Jespersen, pp. 262ff. The function of the "subordinate division of time" in Jespersen's terminology corresponds to "orientation" in King's terminology (idem, § 3).

[25] In opposition to Reckendorf, cf. note 5 above. This function (namely "subordinate division of time") is manifested in the examples from Riwāyāt, ʿUyūn, ʿIqd.

to meet my Lord and Paradise" (Sīra II, 642, 5 n.b.); *wallāhi la-qad ġalaba hāḏā l-fatā ʿalā amri ʿāmmihī wa-innā la-nataxawwafu an yumallikahū ʿalaynā* "By God, this young man has gained ascendancy over his uncle, and we fear that he might make him sovereign over us" (Sīra I, 363, 13); *fa-qāla lahū nuʿaymun wallāhi la-qad ġarratka nafsuka min nafsika yā ʿumaru* "And N. told him: By God, your soul has misled you, oh ʿU." (Sīra I, 368, 9); *qāla lahū mā samiʿta šayʾan qāla balā wallāhi la-qad uxbirtu annakumā tābaʿtumā muḥammadan ʿalā dīnihī.* "They both told him: you have not heard anything. He said: Yes indeed, by God, I have been informed that you followed M.'s religion" (Sīra I, 369, 3); *aḥlifu bi-llāhi la-qad ʿaraftu l-mawta fī wajhi rasūli llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama ka-mā kuntu aʿrifuhū fī wujūhi banī ʿabdi l-muṭṭalibi fa-nṭaliq binā ilā rasūli llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama* "I swear by God, I have recognized death in the face of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, as I used to recognize it in the faces of the sons of ʿA. al-M., so hurry with us to the Messenger of God, peace be upon him" (Sīra II, 654, 12); *qāla wayḥaka hal taʿlamu man dahānī ʿindahū? qāla l-ḥājibu lā wallāhi la-qad daxaltu ʿalayhi wa-mā ʿindahū aḥadun* "He said: woe unto you, do you know who charged me with deceit before him? The doorman said: No, by God, I entered upon him and no one was with him" (Riwāyāt 61, 1 n.b.); *fa-qīla lahū innahā sittatu ayyāmin fa-qāla wallāhi la-qad qultuhā wa-anā astaqilluhā* "So he was told: it was six days, so he said: By God, I said it thinking it was little" (ʿUyūn II, 47, 18); *fa-qālat lahā mā hāḏā yā xansāʾu fa-wallāhi la-qad tuwuffiya rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama fa-mā labistuhū* "So she told her: what is it, oh X., for by God, the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, died and I did not wear it" (ʿIqd, 173); *katabta ilayya taštimu ummī wa-tazʿumu annī farartu ʿan abī ḥattā qutila wa-laʿamrī la-qad farartu ʿanhu wa-lākin baʿda an qutila wa-ḥīna lam ajid lī muqātilan* "You have written to me cursing my mother claiming that I had run away leaving behind me my father so that he got killed, and by my life, I ran away leaving him behind, but only after he had been killed and when I could not find anyone to fight with me" (Riwāyāt 81, 8).

2.2 *With "non-conclusive" verbs*

As we have seen in the previous section, *qad* with the suffix-tense verb may denote a "subordinate division of time" with no static resultant aspect. Classical Arabic also has this meaning of *qad* before "non-conclusive" verbs. As we have seen in § 1.1 above, in Pre-Classical Arabic *qad* is generally missing before "non-conclusive" verbs.

Examples: *laʿana llāhu l-walīda axī fa-innahū kāna fājiran wallāhi la-qad arādanī ʿalā an yafʿala bī* "May God curse al-W. my brother, for he was a libertine, by God, he wanted to do me in" (ʿUyūn II, 42, 18); *fa-qāla l-ḥajjāju wallāhi la-qad hamamtu an axlaʿa lisānaka fa-aḍriba bihī wajhaka* "al-Ḥ. said: By God, I would like to cut out your tongue and hit your face with it" (ʿUyūn II, 212, 9); *qāla baʿḍu julasāʾihī fa-wallāhi la-qad ḥasadtuhū ʿalā ḏālika* "One of his companions said: By God, I envied him for that" (Maḥāsin I, 215); *amā wallāhi la-qad kunta saxiyyan bi-l-ḥaqqi baxīlan bi-l-bāṭili* "By God, you were generous of truth, a miser of falsehood" (ʿIqd, 154); *wallāhi la-qad kānat ṣawwāmatan ʿafīfatan wallāhi la-anbušanna qabrahā wa-la-anẓuranna mā ḥāluhā* "By God, she was one who fasts a lot, one who spends her nights standing in prayer, a righteous one, by God, I shall dig her grave and see what is her condition" (Maḥāsin V, 221); *yā ġulāmu qaddim lahū jamalī fulānan fa-wallāhi la-qad kuntu bi-l-jamali ašadda surūran minnī bi-kulli mā niltuhū* "Oh boy, hand him over my camel so-and-so. And by God, I was happier with the camel than with any other thing I got" (Riwāyāt 79, 1); *naḥlifu bi-llāhi la-qad samiʿtum baʿdanā bna surayjin qālū ajal la-qad samiʿnāhu fa-samiʿnā mā lam nasmaʿ miṯlahū qaṭṭu* "We swear by God, you heard b. S. after us. They said: yes indeed, we did hear him, and we heard something we had never heard before" (Riwāyāt 53, 8).

Conclusion

The present study has been restricted to one specific syntactic environment, and has been based on occasional examples which do not aim to constitute a representative sample. Still, the findings attest to an interesting process which deserves further investigation. If our findings prove to be right, the construction of *qad* with the suffix-tense verb shows a transition from a static/resultant aspect in Pre-Classical Arabic to a subordinate division of time (or orientation) in Classical Arabic, a construction denoting a point of time anterior to some other point, not necessarily with a resultant aspect. In this function, *qad* is not restricted to "conclusive" verbs, and is attested with "non-conclusive" verbs as well. This process is in accordance with a universal tendency of the perfect to become "a mere preterit, though the tendency is not equally strong in all languages".[26]

[26] Jespersen, pp. 270ff. According to his explanation "it appears difficult to keep up the sharp distinction between the idea of the present result of past events and

Presumably in Classical Arabic this process is not completed yet, for, as far as I know, it does not exhibit the occurrence of *qad* with the aorist.[27]

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that of these past events themselves" (ibid.). He further adduces examples for this process in German, Danish and French.

[27] I have not recorded examples of *qad* with the aorist in MSA, but I remember having encountered such examples in journalistic style.

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8

FIGURATIVE USES, POLYSEMY AND HOMONYMY IN SYSTEMS OF TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT

This paper claims that systems expressing the grammatical categories of Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA) are among the most vulnerable to semantic changes. These changes originate from subjective representation of temporal distinctions and from figurative, non-temporal uses of tenses (e.g., realis, irrealis, indirect speech acts, etc.).

In the process of semantic changes, TMA systems may exhibit different situations, in which the old and the new meanings coexist at the synchronic level. A theory which insists on one-to-one relation between form and meaning is inadequate to deal with these situations. Hence I propose a typology of figurative uses— polysemy— homonymy, similar to the one which has been adopted in lexical semantics.

This paper is concerned with systems expressing the grammatical categories of Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA).[1] Cross-linguistically, TMA systems are extremely vulnerable to semantic changes. My claim is that these changes originate from two main processes: (1) Subjective judgment of temporal distinctions (see 1.1 below); (2) Subjective division of time (see 1.2 below). Subjective representations of temporal distinctions are related to figurative, non-temporal uses of tenses to express different notions such as realis/irrealis, indirect speech acts, etc. In the process of semantic changes, TMA systems may exhibit different situations, in which the old and the new meanings coexist at the synchronic level. Consequently, it is my claim (in section 2 below) that a theory which insists on one-to-one relation between form and meaning is inadequate to deal with these situations. Hence I propose (in section 3 below) a typology of: figurative uses—polysemy—homonymy.[2] This typology has been accepted in lexical semantics, to account for different situations of semantic changes. This paper calls for the application of this typology on

[1] In the following discussion I adopt the term "TMA systems", which was used by Dahl (1984: 106), and further developed in Dahl (1985). This term seems appropriate to the approach proposed in this paper, as it assumes an interdependence of these notional categories.

[2] For these three types of multiplicity of senses, see Ullmann (1951: 114ff.).

grammatical systems of TMA, because the latter are extremely vulnerable to semantic changes.

1. *The mechanism of semantic changes in TMA systems*

Cross-linguistically, semantic changes in TMA systems result from two basic processes: (1) Subjective judgment of temporal distinctions; (2) Subjective division of time. These two processes account for non-temporal uses of tenses, and as will be shown in 1.1 and 1.2 below, these non-temporal uses of tenses account for an interdependence of Time, Modality and Aspect in TMA systems. Synchronically, these systems may exhibit different types of multiple meanings, where the old and the new coexist at the synchronic level. In the long run, this process of semantic changes may come to a pathological situation, which may end up with the creation of a new system. Any description of a TMA system must be aware of these processes in order to diagnose its synchronic status and the direction of its development.

1.1 *Subjective judgment of temporal distinctions*

This process can be traced in some languages which possess grammaticalized distinctions of temporal distance. Dahl (1984) has studied some Bantu as well as other languages which exhibit such a well-developed system for expressing different degrees of temporal distance.[3] It is interesting to note the beginning stages of semantic changes even in languages which morphologically express such minute distinctions as (i) an "immediate" past, "which refers to an action taking place earlier on the day of speaking"; (ii) a "recent" past "which refers to an action taking place on the day prior to the day of speaking, or even to a week previously"; (iii) a "far past" tense, "which occurs for actions having taken place . . . not earlier than some months past". As noted by Dahl, these changes are due to a cross-linguistic tendency to allow different degrees of freedom for subjective judgments of temporal distance:[4]

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[3] See Dahl (1984: 108–109; 1985). For further discussion and more evidence from other languages, see Comrie (1985: 83ff., ch. 4).

[4] Dahl (1984: 109–110). See also Comrie (1985: 90ff.).

As we have already seen, objective time measures do play an important role in determining the choice between different tenses in various languages. However, it appears that there are differences between languages as to how important they are. In general, there seems to be some possibility for the speaker to treat something as close even if it is objectively remote and vice versa, that is, there is a possibility to give weight to subjective factors. In some languages, however, a "contradictory combination" of, say, a "today" tense with a time adverbial meaning "last year" results in an ungrammatical sentence. This appears to be the case for instance in Kom (a Bantoid language: Chia 1976). In other languages, e.g., Sotho (a Southern Bantu language), it seems in general possible to combine any time adverbials with any tense (Morolong 1978), as in the following sentence where a recent past is used:

(4) *Morena Moshoeshoe ofalletse Thaba Bosiu ka-1824*
"Chief Moshoeshoe moved to Thaba-Bosiu in 1824."

In other words, it appears to be possible to distinguish between those languages that give more weighting to objective factors and those which leave more room for subjective factors in judgments of temporal distance.[5]

1.2 *Subjective division of time*

Other languages leave room for subjective factors in what can be described as a subjective division of time, or a subjective location of an event within the division of time. Another way of looking at this phenomenon is by referring to a change from absolute tenses (namely forms whose meaning specifies the present moment as a reference point) toward relative tenses (namely forms whose meaning does not specify that the present moment must be their reference point).[6] In other words, the speaker may change the point of reference from the present moment of speech (known as the absolute point of reference) to any other reference point provided by the context. Languages differ with regard to the freedom which they allow for relative location of the point of reference. In some languages, uses of tenses with relative reference point may become conventional, as, for example, the German perfect with future time reference, e.g.:

[5] For different amount of weight allowed in subjective judgment of remoteness, see also Comrie (1985: 29ff.).

[6] For these definitions and for further elaboration on absolute and relative tenses see Comrie (1985: ch. 3).

Morgen bin ich schon abgefahren.
"Tomorrow I will already have left." (literally: "tomorrow I am already left").[7]

In this example the speaker sets a relative reference point which agrees with the sentence adverbial "tomorrow". The relative reference point (i.e., "tomorrow") substitutes for the present as a reference point. Hence a present perfect form is used rather than a future perfect.

Subjective location of the reference point is also exhibited in the use of the so-called "historical present" in German with reference to past events, as in d'Alquen (1989):

Cäsar überschreitet 49 v. Chr. den Rubikon.
"Caesar crossed the Rubikon in 49 B.C." (literally: "Caesar crosses the Rubikon in 49 B.C.").

In this example, the event which occurred in the year 49 B.C. is presented as overlapping with the reference point, rather than prior to it. Thus, by the use of the present tense, the speaker achieves the psychological effect of presenting the historical event as less remote and more relevant. A similar effect is achieved by the usage of English present tense in narrating past events.

Another example for subjective division of time is the so-called "futurate progressive" in English, where the same form, which generally denotes the "present progressive", is used with reference to the future, e.g.:

We are leaving the country next summer.

Objectively speaking, the event expressed by this sentence is posterior to the moment of speech, hence one would expect a future tense. By choosing a present progressive, the speaker focuses on the present state (of preparation, determination, etc.), and leaves the future actualization of the dynamic event as a contextual implicature

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[7] See Comrie (1985: 64). Comrie rejects the analysis that this German use of the perfect has relative past time reference, because it is not the case that these verb forms can be used to indicate location in time prior to *any* arbitrary reference point, for example they cannot occur with a reference point in the past. In my view, however, the fact that German does not allow any arbitrary location of the reference point does not exclude certain relative locations of the reference point. Since the constraints on setting a relative reference point are language-specific, grammars of individual languages should specify these constraints.

(in this example the future reference is specified by the time adverbial). The use of the "present progressive" form in a "futurate progressive" sense refers to a future occurrence as if it were already in the process of taking place at the moment of utterance.[8]

Subjective location in time is also exhibited in different indirect speech acts. Thus English uses past forms rather than present forms for polite requests in the present, e.g.:

I wanted to ask you . . .

Historically, it seems plausible that the motive behind such uses of past forms was to present the request as non-simultaneous with the moment of utterance, hence less pressing, or more polite. At the synchronic level, however, these uses of past forms conventionally express modality rather than a distinction of time.[9] In other words, they exhibit non-temporal use of tense: "what is usually a grammatical sign for a time relation may sometimes be used for other notional purposes" (Jesperson 1924: 265ff.).

Outside Indo-European languages, subjective location of the point of reference is common in some Semitic languages. It is exhibited, for example, in Biblical Hebrew by different uses of the suffix conjugation. When these forms have the absolute point of reference (namely at the present moment of speech), they refer to a situation prior to the present moment. Yet, in certain occurrences, a relative point of reference may be chosen by the speaker. When the point of reference is set in the future, these forms may express future "realis", whereas other forms would express "irrealis" predictions. Hence the suffix conjugation occurs in the so-called "prophetic perfect" or "perfective of confidence",[10] as in:

Dārakh kōkhāv miyyaʿaqōv.
"A star *will come* out of Jacob." (literally: "came out"), (Num 24: 17).

[8] This phenomenon is not restricted in English to subjective use of the progressive. As noted by McCoard (1978: 15–16): "The speaker's conceptualization of events and their relationships intervenes constantly, injecting a degree of apparent indeterminacy into the choice of a particular tense at a particular discourse site".

[9] See also the discussion of these uses in section 3.1 below.

[10] For these terms and the following example, see Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 490). My approach, however, differs from the one adopted in that book (the authors, adhering to one-to-one relation between form and meaning, claim an aspectual distinction expressed by the Hebrew forms, namely perfective/non-perfective.

In such uses of the suffix conjugation, a dramatic effect is achieved by locating the point of reference in the future, and by referring to a future event as prior to that point of reference. Through frequent repetitions, subjective locations in time, like any repetition of emotive expressions, lose their dramatic effect and become institutionalized. Consequently, the absolute distinctions of time reference, once expressed by the grammatical category, become blurred, resulting in a change in the relative weight assigned to grammar in establishing location in time. This is the background for the ongoing arguments between scholars, whether the verbal system in Biblical Hebrew (and in other Semitic languages) should be presented as a tense system, or rather as expressing aspectual distinctions.[11]

Subjective judgment of time and subjective location in time (including non-temporal uses of tenses) are the main reasons for semantic changes in TMA systems, and they explain why different synchronic situations of interdependence between Time, Modality, and Aspect, expressed by one grammatical category, are so widely spread cross-linguistically.

2. *Semantic changes and a theory of TMA systems*

Lexical semantics has long been aware of disparate situations resulting from semantic changes, and has developed a typology of different kinds of multiple meanings.[12] When it comes to the semantics of grammatical categories, however, many linguists are reluctant to recognize a possible situation of multiple meanings. Whereas some are aware "that grammatical features, like lexical items, can have more than one separate meaning",[13] other linguists would rather seek a single potential meaning behind all the different senses of a form in discourse, because if there is no underlying principle relating the different senses of a grammatical form—"then the fact that they are

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[11] For this approach to Biblical Hebrew system, and for a thorough survey of other approaches which have been proposed, see Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 458ff.).

[12] See Ullmann (1951: 106ff.): Multiple meaning and semantic pathology.

[13] Leech (1969: 152), quoted in Hirtle (1975: 7 and n. 6); Sadock (1979: 62–63). Recently, a similar approach has been expressed in cognitive grammar by Langacker (1988: 3): "phenomena like metaphor and semantic extension are central to the proper analysis of lexicon and grammar".

expressed by the same sign would remain grammatically arbitrary. This, in turn, would lead one to raise the question as to whether grammar is coherent and systematic, whether, in fact, it is a fit object for scientific investigation".[14] Although these two approaches seem to contradict each other, they basically reflect the same linguistic phenomenon: when changes of meaning result in a situation in which the old and the new coexist at the synchronic level, some would describe it as a situation of multiple meanings denoted by the same form, whereas others would rather refer to it as an extension of meaning. Both views, however, reflect the same process of semantic changes which blurs and undermines the semantic structure of linguistic forms. Those who prefer the former view will talk about a situation of polysemy or homonymy. Those who choose the latter approach, insisting on a one-to-one relation between form and meaning, will have to find an ever wider and less specific meaning denoted by the same form. This may end up with an ever growing vagueness, to a point that it actually has no semantic value. McCoard (1978: 2–3) has illustrated it by quoting Shumaker (1975). The latter "examined the various meanings of the English *'s*-genitive . . ., and, finding that no one specific underlying meaning could be identified . . . concluded that 'the purpose of the genitive is not so much to express a particular relationship between the modifier and the head-word as to point out that there is some relationship between them. It is left to the addressee to infer a specific appropriate relationship from what he knows of the linguistic context, the situation, and the nature of things. . . .'" The situation described by Shumaker is actually a polysemy, where only the context can determine the meaning denoted by the formal structure. Comrie (1985: 20) criticizes similar approaches to English past forms: "In order to abandon the characterisation of the English past as indicating basically past time reference, it would be necessary to show that there is some alternative characterisation of its meaning from which past time reference, as well as politeness (and perhaps present counterfactuality) would all fall out automatically as special cases. Suggestions that have been made in the literature strike me as either incorrect (if interpreted literally) or as too vague to be testable". (For a typology of English past forms, see section 3.1 below.)

[14] Hirtle (1975: 7 and n. 6).

Some linguists have recognized that a grammatical form may be associated with more than one sense. Hence they elaborate a more flexible approach: while basically they still assume a necessarily one-to-one relation between form and meaning, they are ready to recognize the possibility that one form may denote a primary, basic meaning as well as secondary, contextual senses: McCoard (1978: 1) is convinced that it is possible to distinguish "between the *basic structural signals* provided by a particular verb-form selection, and the *contextual elaborations* which are inferentially placed upon the signals".

A further step toward recognition of multiple meaning is made by Comrie (1985: 18–19) with regard to tense. Following the criticism by Woisetschlaeger (1977: 105–107) of Joos (1964), who claimed that, "for each tense one can establish a set of necessary and sufficient conditions such that every permitted use of the form will be allowed by these conditions, and every rejected use of the form will be disallowed by these conditions", Comrie proposes a more flexible approach, even though he recognizes that stricter theories are preferable, because "the more flexible approach provides a more accurate characterisation of the linguistic system". As will be shown below, however, his preference for a stricter theory sometimes prevents him from recognizing situations of polysemy, even though at other times he is ready to acknowledge situations like these.[15]

Whether one chooses to refer to a state of multiple meanings, or rather to an ever continued extension of meaning, the results of semantic changes in TMA systems are an ever-growing dependence on context and extra-lingual indications of meaning. Whereas some grammatical categories are quite stable and are less exposed to semantic changes, other categories are more vulnerable to semantic changes. For the former, a methodology which assumes a one-to-one relation between form and meaning is preferable. For the latter—in which the old and the new may interact at the synchronic level—a combined synchronic and diachronic approach is required, similar to the one applied in lexical semantics.[16]

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[15] See for example Comrie (1985: 19) with regard to English *will*, and (1985: 85) with regard to the Spanish perfect form. Comrie (1976: 10–11) is more flexible to speak of "a given category having several meanings", even though "the possibility is not excluded that subsequent work may show that these various meanings are in fact different manifestations of one general meaning, or at least of a smaller number of meanings".

[16] The need for such a combination in lexical semantics has been expressed by Ullmann (1951: 144ff.). For more details see section 3 below.

As we have seen in section 1, TMA systems in many languages exhibit to what extent grammatical categories may be affected by semantic changes. Linguistic accounts of grammatical categories like these cannot be as elegant as those of the more stable categories. Yet, any realistic theory of natural languages must recognize the possible coexistence of the old and the new within the synchronous system. Insisting on a one-to-one relation between form and meaning in a situation like this entails an ever-growing vagueness of the distinction expressed by this system. Such an approach has led many linguists to believe that the verbal system in Biblical Hebrew, for instance, does not express a distinction of time, but rather one of aspect.[17] Yet, those who accept this assumption cannot agree on the exact aspectual distinction expressed by this system. A recent reflection is found in Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 475). Following a thorough survey of the different theories that have been proposed, the authors conclude:

> All of the theories outlined here represent informed and considered efforts to come to grips with the use of the Hebrew conjugations. If it seems that the number of factors and systems too grotesquely outstrips the complexity of the usages, it may be worth recalling that some subparts of the English tense system are obscure. The operation of the sequence of tenses, for example, and the relationship of the perfect and pluperfect tenses are the subject of much controversy in a language that is not only living and widely spoken but also quite intensively studied. Thus, a little patience is needed for work on the Hebrew conjugations . . .

The optimistic spirit expressed toward the end of this quotation can only be fulfilled if someone manages to find such a vague distinction that is likely to cover all the shades of meaning expressed by this system with no significant counterexamples. Such a distinction, however, is doomed to be so general and non-specific, that it will actually be meaningless. In other words, such an approach does not offer any significant contribution to the semantics of TMA systems. Besides, it cannot account for common situations of interdependence between the notional categories of Time, Aspect and Modality. A different approach, which assumes various situations of multiple meanings, can supply a better perspective of this process, and a typology of synchronic situations of multiple meanings in TMA systems. In

[17] As noted by Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 475, n. 91). most current textbooks of Hebrew are aspectualist.

the following pages, I propose to adopt for the synchronic description of these systems the typology which has been used in lexical semantics for different situations of multiple meanings. Of course, any concrete application of this methodology will have to take into account a variety of relevant considerations, such as pragmatics (McCoard 1978: 1–5), meaning and implicature (Comrie 1985: 18–23), absolute and relative tenses (Comrie 1985: 36–64), interaction of tense and syntax (e.g. in tense neutralization and sequence of tenses, Comrie 1985: 102–107), as well as the character of the events.[18]

3. *A typology of multiple meanings in TMA systems*

Since TMA systems often exhibit multiplicity of meanings associated with one grammatical form, a similar typology to the one applied in lexical multiplicity of meanings[19] seems appropriate. As in lexical semantics, the definitions of the different types cannot be given in terms of necessary-and-sufficient conditions, but rather in terms of a prototype, which "characterises a most typical member of the set, and other entries can then be classified in terms of their degree of similarity to or difference from this prototypical set-member. A prototype definition thus does not establish a clear boundary to a set, since membership is a question of degree rather than an all-or-none decision".[20] Hence it arranges different types of multiplicity along a continuum of: figurative use—polysemy—homonymy. As in lexical semantics, there is a gradual transition from one type to another, with no sharp demarcation lines. In a case of doubt, one may follow the rule suggested by Ullmann (1951: 115): "it might perhaps be wise to lay down as a golden rule to give the benefit of the doubt, in border-line cases, to the closer of the two alternative connections: to shifts in application[21] against polysemy, and to polysemy against homonymy. Naturally, each case will have to be examined on its

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[18] Especially relevant is the distinction between those with a sense of goal or terminus (e.g. *find*), and their counterparts (e.g. *think*). Recent works refer to them by the terms telic/atelic respectively, see McCoard (1978: 8ff.). A similar distinction is made by Jespersen (1924: 273), who uses the pair conclusive/non-conclusive, and makes reference to former terminology as well.

[19] For such a typology in lexical semantics see Ullmann (1951: 114ff.).

[20] Comrie (1985: 22). For further elaboration of the prototype theory with regard to TMA systems, see Dahl (1985, ch. 1: General background).

[21] Ullmann uses the terms "shifts" and "transfers" to distinguish between different

merits, and often there may be no hard-and-fast solution at all." Admittedly, this typology is not ideal, because it necessarily leaves some gray areas among the different types of multiple meaning. Yet it is doubtful whether any ideal typology can be developed in cases of gradual transition along a continuum. In any case, this typology is preferable to the other alternative, which assumes an on-going process of extension of meaning with no criteria for diagnosing the synchronic situation, and with no explanation whatsoever for the interdependence of Time, Aspect, and Modality.

My approach differs from the one adopted by Comrie (1985: section 1.8).[22] In that section Comrie assumes "that tenses have meanings definable independently of particular contexts; it is possible for a given tense to have more than one meaning, in which case some of the meaning may be more basic than others; it is also possible that a tense will receive particular interpretations in particular contexts, but these are always explainable in terms of the interaction of context-independent meaning and context, and do not therefore form part of the meaning of the tense category in question". Whereas Comrie's approach may be adequate for figurative extensions, it is not felicitous for polysemic or homonymic situations. Thus, Comrie (1985: 40) encounters theoretical difficulty in accounting for habitual meaning, which "lies on the boundary of the three systems of tense, aspect, and mood". He has similar problems in dealing with other situations exhibiting an interdependence of Time and Modality, for example, by non-future uses of the English "future tense",[23] and by similar uses in Dyirbal, where two basic finite forms of verbs may express time and modality with no clear hierarchy of meaning.[24] As noted by Comrie (1985: 26, section 1.7), "in the historical development of languages, one possible change is for an implicature to be

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kinds of figurative uses. In my typology, however, I would rather use one general term, because the exact kind of change is irrelevant at the synchronic level.

[22] A different approach adopted in section 1.6 of Comrie (1985). (See section 2 above.)

[23] For example: *he will go swimming in dangerous waters*, i.e. "he insists on going swimming" (Comrie 1985: 21). See further elaboration in section 3.2 below.

[24] See Comrie (1985: 39–40). Since the author does not recognize a theoretical state of polysemy exhibiting an interdependency of Time and Modality, he concludes that Dyirbal has no tense distinction, and that location in time is only an implicature in that language. His conclusion contrasts with Dixon (1972: 55), who observes a primarily temporal distinction in that verbal system. The fact that no agreement on hierarchy can be established points to a polysemic situation.

reinterpreted as part of the meaning, or indeed as the meaning". Yet he does not draw the required conclusion, that in this process of changes there are different stages in which the old and the new coexist at the synchronic level. Consequently any typology of multiple meaning must also account for situations with no clear hierarchy of meaning, especially with interdependence of Time, Modality, and Aspect.

3.1 *Figurative uses*[25]

This type of multiplicity exists when native speakers recognize a hierarchy of meaning, namely "primary, conventional, context-free" versus "secondary, figurative, contextual".[26] The criteria for distinction between these two kinds of meaning are not always clear, as shown by Sadock (1979), and Culler (1981: 15ff.). Comrie (1985: 23ff., section 1.7) proposes to distinguish between the two by a cancellation test: "Thus, with our example *it's cold in here*, when the hearer goes to close the window, the speaker might continue *please don't close the window, I enjoy the cold*, without contradicting himself". As shown by Sadock and Culler, it is doubtful whether any one test can be adequate for this distinction. Anyhow, difficulties in establishing such a hierarchy may indicate a transition toward a state of polysemy, as recurrent uses of figurative extensions may destroy this hierarchy of meanings, culminating in a state of polysemy. Below are some possible examples for figurative uses in TMA systems:

The example adduced above (section 1.1) from Sotho (a Southern Bantu language)—where a recent past tense is used with reference to the year 1824—apparently exhibits a figurative use of tense: whereas the main function of that system is still to express minute

[25] I deliberately do not distinguish between different figures such as metaphor or metonymy, because it is not always possible to specify whether the figurative use is related to similarity or contiguity. Besides, the distinction is irrelevant for the synchronic typology.

[26] Concealed under different terminologies, the latter category is basically what Ullmann calls "shifts in application" and "transfers". Following Grice (1975), recent publications often adopt the pair "meaning" and "implicature". As noted by Comrie (1985: 26), "in the historical development of languages, one possible change is for an implicature to be reinterpreted as part of the meaning, or indeed as the meaning". Basically, Comrie describes a development which is identical to the one described in the present paper, without proposing a typology of different synchronic situations.

distinctions of temporal distance, this example shows that the speaker may choose to use the form of an "immediate" past to express modality. In this language it is still possible to distinguish between the "literal" temporal use of tense, and its figurative, non-temporal use. If, in the long run, these distinctions become blurred, with a possible loss of hierarchy—one might rather refer to it as a state of polysemy.

Another possible example for figurative uses is exhibited by the English occurrence of "past simple" forms, both for an indication of past time, and for modal indication of present unreality (Palmer 1979: 6). Joos (1964: 121), who looked for a one-to-one relation between form and meaning, "suggested that they are both essentially "remote", the one in time, the other in reality" (quoted in Palmer 1979: 6). Yet this suggestion is quite arbitrary, because it cannot explain, for example, why a past time reference is remote, whereas future time is not. A hierarchy of uses is claimed by Comrie (1985: 19ff.) to exist in the uses of the past forms in English and in other European languages. According to him, "most uses of the English past tense do serve to locate situations prior to the present moment". Other uses of the English past forms, such as counterfactuals and polite requests, are considered secondary. He adduces examples from other languages (Norwegian, German, Russian) for non-literal uses of past forms with no past time reference. Yet, in these languages, he claims (Comrie 1985: 21): "it is reasonably clear which of the various uses of the given grammatical form should be taken as the basic meaning". Comrie actually recognizes there a hierarchy of uses similar to the one proposed in the present section. Yet, he does not explain the mechanism "accounting for these phenomena, except the suggestion "that such uses of the past should simply be treated as exceptions". As shown in sections 1.1 and 1.2 above. these non-literal examples from English, Norwegian, German, and Russian result from a cross-linguistic tendency to allow a certain amount of freedom for subjective location of the reference point beyond the present moment of speech. In these uses, the grammatical form is not intended to express reference time (tense), but rather some other notion associated with the literal use of that form, such as certainty, imminence, remoteness, or what have you. Admittedly, Comrie's treatment of the English past forms—which recognizes a hierarchy of basic meaning and contextual implicatures—is more reasonable

than Joos" 1964,[27] yet his theoretical framework is inadequate for dealing with situations where no such hierarchy can be established.[28]

From a historical linguistic point of view, it is interesting to note that a figurative approach to anomalous uses in a TMA system has already been proposed by medieval Arabic linguists. They refer to figurative use of past tense verbs with reference to future time, in order to express certainty with regard to future occurrences; they also ascribe a similar effect to figurative uses of participles with reference to future events, by presenting these future events as if they were already in the process of taking place.[29] This explanation clearly ascribes to the Arabic system a hierarchy of primary, literal time reference versus a secondary, figurative, subjective location in time. Whereas it might be arguable whether the synchronic state of Classical Arabic really exhibits such a hierarchy, it must be admitted that the approach proposed by medieval Arabic linguists makes an important contribution to the theory of TMA systems: it relates the mechanism of semantic changes in TMA systems to non-literal, i.e., non-temporal uses of tenses. In any case, when no agreement on a hierarchy of meaning can be achieved, it indicates a state of polysemy.

3.2 *Polysemy*

This situation of multiple meanings exists when the old and the new meanings coexist in a way that native speakers are not aware of a hierarchy of meanings, yet they can apprehend the connection between the various senses (Ullmann 1951: 118–119). Recognition of possible polysemic (and homonymic) situations is, in my opinion, the main contribution offered by this typology of TMA systems. Below are a few examples for uses like these. As will be shown, by recognizing the possibility of multiple meanings, the typology proposed in the present paper is sometimes even capable of finding complementary distribution between the different meanings (e.g., in the uses of English future tense).

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[27] See further discussion in section 3.3 below.

[28] For instance the uses of English *will*. For further discussion see sections 3.2 and 3.3 below.

[29] See Qazwīnī d. 739/1338:I, 124; Taftāzānī d. 791/1388 commentary on Qazwīnī; as-Suyūṭī d. 911\1505: 109–127.

A state of polysemy exists in Spanish, where one form (perfect) has, according to Comrie (1985: 85), "two meanings: current relevance of a past situation, and recent past". Whereas the first is related to aspect, the latter is related to a distinction of remoteness in time. The context makes it possible to distinguish between the two meanings, so that "the perfect can be used for events that took place much longer ago than today provided they still have current relevance, and the perfect can be used for events that took place earlier on today even if they no longer have current relevance, e.g.

> *hoy he abierto la ventana a las seis y la he cerrado a las siete*
> "today I opened [literally: have opened] the window at six o'clock and closed [literally: have closed] it at seven o'clock"

even though the act of opening the window no longer has current relevance". It is interesting to note, that Comrie actually recognizes here two meanings—not a hierarchy of meaning and implicature—associated with one form.[30]

A polysemic situation exists also in the so-called English future tense, which can be used to indicate future time reference, but can also be used to make predictions about other times, e.g., the present. Thus, according to Comrie (1985: 21):

> *It will be raining already* (said by someone who had noticed the storm-clouds gathering, but has not yet actually ascertained that it is already raining).

In addition, future tense may occur in various modal uses, e.g.:

> *He will go swimming in dangerous waters*, i.e., "he insists on going swimming".

According to Comrie, great controversy has surrounded the meaning of these forms. Some have tried to find a single characterization that can account for both its temporal and modal uses, namely to find a one-to-one relation between form and meaning; others have tried to establish a hierarchy of basic and secondary meaning, but could not agree which of the two sets of meanings—the temporal

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[30] Although Comrie (1985: 19) agrees that stricter theories are preferable to less strict theories, linguistic evidence leads him to acknowledge "that a given grammatical category may have more than one meaning".

or the modal—is basic, and which is secondary. The fact that there is no agreement on hierarchy indicates a state of polysemy.[31] Comrie (1985: 21) is aware of this complicated situation, "without definitively resolving the problem". Our typology, on the other hand, is more realistic and more adequate for situations in which no clear hierarchy of meaning can be established.

A similar situation exists with forms of future in the past, such as English *would leave.* According to Comrie (1985: 75) "there is the particularly acute problem of future forms having modal as well as temporal values". He suggests that the English form "is probably more often than not used with modal meaning, whence its usual name conditional, but it can also be used purely temporally". As noted in Comrie (1985: 75, n. 16), "the traditional nomenclature varies considerably even for European languages. Thus French uses distinct terms *conditionnel* and *futur au passé* for modal and temporal uses, respectively . . . In Brazil, traditional grammar has decided on the apparently temporal term *futuro do pretérito* for both modal and temporal uses. Modal uses do seem to be more prevalent here than with the future, where the temporal term future has been accepted without question in most traditional grammars". The traditional terminology of these languages reflects different approaches: whereas the French terminology does not specify one basic use of this form, the other languages express the more basic use by the traditional term. Indeed, the traditional terminology does not necessarily reflect the synchronic situation of these forms of future in the past. Yet, the uses of these forms show a strong interdependence of Time and Modality. In these cases, no hierarchy of meanings can be established, not to mention a one-to-one relation between form and meaning.

3.3 *Homonymy*

A situation of homonymy exists when native speakers do not feel that the different meanings expressed by the same form are related to each other.[32] This is, synchronically speaking, a situation of homonymy, even if historical evidence does not confirm this diagnosis.

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[31] Comrie (1985: 21). Some even refer to two separate sets, or in other words to a state of homonymy. For further elaboration on the possibility of homonymy exhibited by these uses, see under section 3.3 below.

[32] For more elaboration on this criterion see Lyons (1977, Vol. 2: 551).

Clear-cut situations of homonymy are hard to prove. A state of homonymy seems to exist, at least for some speakers of English, in the usage of *will* with future time reference and in modal expressions. That the two functions of *will* cannot synchronically be attributed to figurative use, is proven by the fact that no hierarchy of meaning can be established.[33] A further indication implying a state of homonymy at the synchronic level is exhibited by a difference in their syntactical distribution: whereas modal *will* may occur in conditional clauses such as:

If he will go swimming in dangerous waters, he will drown,

will with future time reference is normally excluded in this structure (Comrie 1985: 48). The data adduced by Comrie attest to a state of homonymy, yet his theoretical framework of tenses, which necessarily assumes a hierarchy between "meaning" and "implicature" in any tense, is inadequate for dealing with situations like this. Hence he cannot even conclude whether English actually has a separate category of future tense. As I pointed out above with regard to situations of polysemy, our typology is more realistic, and can be applied on a wider range of multiplicity of meaning, including situations exhibiting different degrees of interdependence of Time, Modality, and Aspect.[34]

A similar homonymy seems to exist in Burmese.[35] The data adduced by Comrie show two sets of sentence-final particles. When used in statements referring to our actual world with no modal value, one set indicates present or past time reference (with no grammatical distinction between the two time references), and the other set indicates a future time reference. The same set which indicates a future time reference in non-modal statements, is exhibited in modal expressions such as "may", "must have", with reference to present or past. This situation is similar to the one exhibited by English uses of *will*. Whereas in non-modal statements it functions as a future tense, in modal expressions it is not restricted to future time reference. Comrie's theory of tense is not flexible enough to allow for a situation of

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[33] Hence, following Ullmann's suggestion, I have referred to it in section 3.2 above as a possible example of polysemy.

[34] For the "close connection between, or even identity of, forms used to refer to the future and forms used for various kinds of modality", see Palmer (1979: 5ff., section 1.1.4: Modality and tense).

[35] For details see Comrie (1985: 50ff., section 2.5: Tenseless languages).

homonymy, hence he is forced to conclude that Burmese is a tenseless language.[36] In my approach, the data exhibited by Burmese show a situation of homonymy, with a clear-cut complementary distribution in the use of the two sets: in non-modal statements they clearly mark distinctions in time, hence they definitely function there as a tense system; in non-statements modal expressions, only one set is used (the one that is used in statements for future reference), with no distinction of time. Yet, distinctions of time in modal expressions are less crucial than in non-modal statements,[37] hence modal expressions cannot decide the existence or non-existence of tense in non-modal statements.

3.4 *Pathological situations*

This refers to cases of polysemy or homonymy, in which the context cannot clearly indicate the intended meaning. In that situation, it is likely that curative devices will be found, and finally a new system will develop on the ruins of the old one which has collapsed.

A possible example for such a situation may be found in the history of the English perfect forms. As noted by McCoard (1978: 218), some scholars find it possible "that the perfect/preterit opposition suffered a collapse somewhere along the way, and the modern opposition is not the continuation from the original 'stative'-perfect/preterit pairing, but has grown up independently". This view is in accordance with Jespersen's observation with regard to perfect forms in different "Aryan" languages.[38] Jespersen's words reflect the process of semantic changes in TMA systems, culminating in the collapse of the old distinction and the development of a new one:

> The two sides of the perfect-notion cannot easily be maintained in a stable equilibrium. Some of the old perfects are used exclusively as real presents, e.g., Lat. *odi, memini*; in the Gothonic languages the so-

[36] As I have shown above, Comrie faces similar difficulties when dealing with English *will* forms. If he were consistent in his approach, he would conclude that there is no future tense in English, for similar reasons that make him conclude that Burmese is a tenseless language. Yet, for some reasons he is less willing to admit that there is no future tense in English.

[37] For further discussion of the relation between time and modality in English, see Palmer (1979: 6).

[38] Jespersen (1924: 269–271). See also Comrie (1985: 26), where additional evidence is supplied from modern Eastern Armenian, namely of reinterpretation of an original pluperfect as a remote past.

> called praeteritopraesentia, which would be better called perfectopraesentia . . . But apart from these what were perfects in the Gothonic languages have lost the present-element and have become pure preterits . . . To express the perfect-meaning compounds with *have* were then formed: *I have driven, sung, held,* etc. In quite recent times one of these combinations has become a pure present (thus a new perfectopresent verb): *I have got (I've got)*: the retrospective element is quite absent in *I've got no time I! you've got to do it* . . . In Romanic verbs, however, we witness the same development as in the majority of the Gothonic verbs, the old perfect forms having lost their perfect-function and having become pure preterits, though with this difference from the Gothonic verbs, that they are aorists . . . Now, in spite of the employment of the present-tense form *have* in these new perfects, it appears difficult to keep up the sharp distinction between the idea of the present result of past events and that of these past events themselves: the perfect tends to become a mere preterit, though the tendency is not equally strong in all languages. . . .

4. *Summary*

In this paper I have tried to show that TMA systems in different languages are exposed to semantic changes which originate from subjective judgment and location in time of events, activities, or situations. Another source for semantic changes in TMA systems is figurative usage of tense forms. In this figurative usage, a tense form is not used for time reference (i.e., anterior, simultaneous, or posterior to a reference point), but rather for another, marginal, notion associated with that tense, e.g., indirectness, irrealis, etc. In this process of semantic changes, TMA systems may exhibit different relations between the old and the new meanings.

The proposed typology of synchronic situations like these is similar to the one applied in lexical semantics. It assumes a continuum of figurative uses—polysemy—homonymy, depending on criteria such as hierarchy of meanings and relatedness of meanings. As in lexical semantics, situations of polysemy and homonymy may develop into pathological situations, where even the context can no longer indicate the intended meaning. This explains some historical evidence for collapses in the TMA systems of different languages.

The alternative approach for semantic changes in TMA systems denies a possible situation of multiple meanings associated with a single grammatical form. Hence it insists on finding one common distinction expressed by the different occurrences of a grammatical

form. This approach has two main disadvantages in dealing with semantic changes in TMA systems: (1) It ends up with an ever-growing vagueness of this common distinction, with no typology of different synchronic situations; (2) It fails to account for the interdependency of Time, Modality, and Aspect in so many languages. Even a more flexible approach, like the one adopted by Comrie (1985), is not flexible enough to account for the variety of situations of multiple meanings exhibited by TMA systems. By recognizing a hierarchy of "meaning" and "implicature", it can adequately deal with different situations of figurative uses, as long as they exhibit such a hierarchy of meaning. Yet, it is incompetent for dealing with situations in which such a hierarchy can no longer be established. The picture that comes out by the application of the proposed typology is not an ideal one for a grammatical category, but it is the most realistic. Any other one-dimensional approach is bound to distort this picture.

The idealistic approach, which insists on a one-to-one relation between form and meaning, has been exhaustively applied on different TMA systems with very limited benefits for the semantics of these systems. A slightly more flexible version of this idealistic approach has been adopted by Comrie (1985), forcing him to arbitrary choices and inconsistency in dealing with situations of multiple meanings with no hierarchy of meanings. It is my hope, that this paper will be followed by further studies which will adopt a new methodology and typology for the study of one of the more complicated systems in natural languages.

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9

SEMI-IMPERFECTIVES AND IMPERFECTIVES: A CASE STUDY OF ASPECT AND TENSE IN ARABIC PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

This paper views Arabic participial clauses as a simultaneous relative tense (Comrie 1985). This simultaneous tense is imperfective in aspect, mainly stative, and marginally iterative or progressive. In addition, participial structures may refer to states or activities which are bounded by a dynamic event at their beginning (retrospective) or end (prospective). For these I propose the term *semi-imperfectives*, i.e. imperfective states/activities bounded at one edge by the actualization of a dynamic event. Retrospective semi-imperfectives cover the English present perfect. Prospective semi-imperfectives correspond to the English "futurate progressive" or *be going to.* Thus, semi-imperfectives incorporate "extended now" (McCoard 1978) and "current relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1986, as applied by Haegeman 1989) under the well-known parameters of *tense* and *aspect* (event time). Participial clauses in Arabic illustrate how one grammatical form may express both the retrospective and prospective "now".

1. *The contribution of the present paper*

It is the purpose of the present paper to propose a theoretical framework for different uses of participial clauses in the Koran. Generally speaking, the Koranic uses of participial clauses are similar to those of Classical Arabic as described by Reckendorf 1906 (see section 1.2 below). In my view, all these uses basically fall into one of two types:

(1) A simultaneous tense with imperfective[1]—mainly stative—aspectual value (section 2.1 below). As is the case with other tenses in Classical Arabic, the point of reference for this simultaneous tense is not necessarily the moment of utterance. The context may determine a relative point of reference in the past or in the future (section 2.2 below). As we will see below in sections 2.2 and 2.3, setting

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[1] Imperfective and perfective are used in the present paper as cross-linguistic notions: the former makes explicit reference only to the internal temporal constituency of the event, excluding its beginning and end (Comrie 1976: 4, Hirtle 1988: 92); the latter presents the totality of the event referred to, from its beginning till its end (Comrie 1976: 3, Hirtle 1988: 95). See also figures Al and A2 in the Appendix to the present paper.

a relative point of reference has certain constraints, a fact which has been disregarded in some recent literature on Tense and Aspect.[2]

(2) A present state bounded by a past or future event (sections 3.1 and 3.2 respectively). In these cases, the *participial lexeme* explicitly expresses the event which bounds the present state; the present state is expressed by the *participial form*, while the context implies a past or a future actualization of the event which bounds the present state. Hence, the location of the bounding event in the past or in the future is a contextual implicature,[3] and does not constitute part of the meaning of the form *per se*. These uses of participial structures express mainly a present state, which is explicitly bounded either for its beginning, or for its end, by a dynamic event. Hence I propose for these uses of participial clauses the term *semi-imperfective* present: semi-imperfective because their aspect (Comrie 1976) or event time (Hirtle 1988) is characterized as bounded in *one* of its edges: either its beginning, or its end; present because it refers to a state co-existing with the moment of speech.[4] These uses combine two time references—a present state bounded by a past/future actualization of a dynamic event—and two aspectual values—semi-imperfective state + perfective event (see Appendix, figure A2).

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[2] The fact that Arabic has certain constraints on setting a relative point of reference is ignored by Comrie (1985: 63) and Dahl (1987: 495). The former views the Arabic system as a relative tense, and the latter focuses on the aspectual distinction of perfective/imperfective.

[3] Coined by Grice (1975) [reprinted Grice 1989: 22–40]. I use this term as it has been used by Dahl (1985: 11): "to mean something that can be inferred from the use of a certain linguistic category or type of expression, although it cannot be regarded as belonging to its proper meaning". See also Comrie (1976: 28–30), and further elaboration in Comrie (1985: 23–28), where a hierarchy of "meaning" and "implicature" is discussed.

[4] Others have referred to similar structures as "extended now". For elaboration and historical survey of the development of this theory, see McCoard (1978: 123ff., ch. 4). This theory has been developed to explain the function of English present perfect forms, hence it is primarily concerned with extended "now" to the past. McCoard (1978: 152–153), has rightly noted a similar function exhibited by English progressive form with future reference, as in *John is leaving soon.* Thus in his view, "whereas the perfect associates a prior event with the present period, thereby provoking inferences of present consequences, the futurate progressive associates a posterior event with the present period, thereby suggesting initiation, imminence or what have you". As will be shown below, Arabic participial structures exhibit extensions in both directions: extended now with reference to past events (similar to English present perfect), and extended now with reference to future (similar to English futurate progressive, and *be going to*). Haegeman (1989) has applied in a similar way the Current Relevance theory of Sperber and Wilson (1986) for both English present perfect and *be going to*.

The theoretical framework proposed in the present paper distinguishes between the *meaning of* participial structures—namely imperfective or semi-imperfective state overlapping with the reference point—and their contextual *implicatures*—namely past or future actualization of an event which bounds the beginning or the end of this state. With differences in details, it can also account for the uses of participial structures in the Arabic dialects as described by Mitchell (1952), Mitchell (1978),[5] Wild (1964), and Piamenta (1966) (see section 1.2 below). From a general linguistic point of view, it proposes a refinement of the extended "now", and present relevance[6] theories. It combines the cross-linguistically most important parameters in TMA systems,[7] namely tense (a grammaticalized location in time relatively to the point of reference) and aspect (i.e., event time: perfective—in reference to the totality of an event, from its beginning till its end;[8] and imperfective—in reference to the middle, internal part of an event, excluding its beginning and end. Thus, by introducing a new category of aspect (or event time)—*semi-imperfectives*—I propose to deal with these compound categories by means of two well-defined parameters, which are cross-linguistically the most common in TMA systems.

1.1 *Arabic participles—Some basic features*

The participle in Arabic is a noun (substantive or adjective) derived from a verb in predictable patterns (Beeston 1970: 35). Participles have two varieties matching the two kinds of Arabic verbs: active and passive. The active participle pattern *kātib* matches the finite active verb *yaktub* "he writes" and has the meaning "a person who writes/a writer"; the passive participle pattern *maktūb* matches the finite passive verb *yuktab* "somebody writes it/it is written" and has

[5] Thus I did not note in the Koran different location in time in negative participial clauses (Mitchell 1978: 253ff.), nor with differences of person in subject pronouns (Mitchell 1978: 255–256).

[6] Sperber and Wilson (1986), Haegeman (1989).

[7] That is the abbreviation used in Dahl's (1985) crosslinguistic study. In his "General background" there, he develops a theoretical framework for these categories, and calls them "TMA categories", or "TMA systems", including mood with tense and aspect.

[8] "Event" is used here as a cover-term for all types of verbs, as used by Reichenbach (1947), and Hirtle (1988). Comrie (1976, 1985), and Dahl (1985) (although with some reservation) use the cover-term "situation".

the meaning "a thing which somebody writes/something in writing" (Beeston 1970: 83). Concerning the meaning of Arabic participles, Beeston (1970: 35) has made the following observation:

> the fundamental semantic value of a participle is that of describing an entity about which the verb can be predicated and nothing more: substantivally used, the participle matching "he writes" connotes "person who writes" or "writer"; adjectivally used, the participle matching "he hangs" might appear in a phrase like "a hanging judge".

In addition to their use as noun modifiers, Arabic participles may function as sentence predicates,[9] with different temporal, aspectual and modal values. In the following pages I will adduce some representative examples from the Koran. Section 2 shows participial structures as a simultaneous tense with unbounded imperfective aspect, while section 3 shows semi-imperfective present, bounded at its beginning (section 3.1) or its end (section 3.2).

1.2 *Previous literature on Arabic participial clauses*

Different uses of participial structures in Classical Arabic have been thoroughly described by Reckendorf (1906). The author has noted and recorded various temporal, as well as aspectual uses of participial structures: on-going activities, preterite, future, perfective, or imperfective (Reckendorf 1906: 260). His description is based on good intuitive understanding of participial structures in different contexts, but it does not offer a theoretical framework to account for these different uses. Hence, it is not clear which functions are inherent to the grammatical form itself, and which are merely implied by the context.

Mitchell (1952) has described different uses of active participle structures in a Bedouin Arabic dialect of Cyrenaica. He contrasts active participles with suffix and prefix conjugations by adding extended collocations. His data show five main usages of participial structures: (1) in reference to past events with present relevance (similar to the English resultant present perfect); (2) present states, as in: "He is angry with me" (Mitchell 1952: 15); (3) an activity which began in

[9] In the following pages I will confine myself to these structures only, and will refer to them as participial clauses or participial structures.

the past and still continues at the present, similarly to the English progressive present perfect; (4) with future reference, for instance, as an answer to: "Do stay with us tonight"; "I am spending the night [participle] at Muḥammad's" (Mitchell 1952: 25–26). The use of the participle with future reference is considered "more definite, in some sense emphatic" compared with the similar use of prefix conjugation (Mitchell 1952: 28). The author also notes a correlation between verbs of motion ('motive" verbs in his terminology) and future inference of participial structures (Mitchell 1952: 29); (5) pluperfect expressing anteriority to a past point of reference. Mitchell's study supplies abundant examples for different uses of participial structures, with interesting evidence for possible collocations. Similar to Reckendorf's study, however, it does not aim to propose a theoretical framework accounting for these different uses.

Wild (1964) emphasizes the resultative use of participial constructions in the Syrian dialect. This study is more theoretically oriented than the previous ones, yet its theoretical framework does not account for non-resultant uses exhibited by this structure, for instance stative simultaneity, and future reference.

Various uses of pariticipial structures in the akin Palestinian dialect have been described by Piamenta (1966). In addition to the resultant perfect exhibited by participial structures, the author has noted present and future references, distributed in accordance with the semantic category of the participial lexemes: thus, participles derived from verbs of state do not express the resultative (Piamenta 1966: xiii), while participles derived from verbs of motion have future reference (Piamenta 1966: 204).[10] Piamenta describes a wider range of uses than those covered in Wild's study, including distribution along the semantic categories of the participial lexemes. Yet, it still lacks a general theoretical framework to account for these data.

Woidich (1975) studies the function of active participles in the dialect of Cairo. This study stresses the semantic category of the participial lexeme in determining the function of this structure.

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[10] As we have seen above, a similar observation was made by Mitchell (1952: 29); Mitchell (1978: 250ff.) refers to this usage as "proximate intention". He also notes in Jordanian Arabic some non-motive participles in this usage (Mitchell 1978: 251), but finds difficulty in explaining this irregularity. Koranic examples show that this usage is not necessarily restricted to participles of motive verbs.

Mitchell (1978) examines the uses of participles in Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) in Egypt and Jordan. He concludes that "Egyptian usage is fairly closely in accord with that of Cyrenaica and differs noticeably from Jordan in respect of participial semantics" (Mitchell 1978: 241). The participle in Egypt implies "'current relevance' of past acts that in general terms characterizes PERFECT Aspect" (Mitchell 1978: 242). In this usage Egyptian Arabic uses both active and passive participles (Mitchell 1978: 241). In Jordanian Arabic on the other hand there is a modal distinction between participle and suffix-conjugation: the former "is a distinctly more attenuated statement", whereas the latter "implies that the speaker either witnessed the event or is otherwise prepared to guarantee the truth of his assertion" (Mitchell 1978: 243). Similarly to Piamenta (1966), Mitchell (1978: 248) notes that "'verbs of motion' behave differently from other verbs". The participles of motive verbs commonly express what he calls "proximate intention" (Mitchell 1978: 250–251).

Henkin 1985 has found progressive and resultative uses of active participial structures in Negev Bedouin Dialects (Henkin 1985: 23). Whereas resultative uses are mainly attested with "+change verbs" such as *write, kill, build, be born, die, get married*, progressive uses are generally attested with "–change verbs" such as *wait, look, graze, contain, suit, live* (Henkin 1985: 79). No uses of passive participial structures were found in her study (Henkin 1985: 21).

Caubet 1989 describes three values of the active participle in Moroccan Arabic: prospective, on-going present and present perfect. This study stresses the aspectual and modal uses of this form, as well as the verb classes which are characteristic of these uses. It concludes that the active participle is "aspectually open", and has mainly a modal value, according to the speaker's attitude. This approach is further elaborated in Caubet 1990, which examines the present participle in dialects such as Urban Moroccan and Cairene, as well as Tunis. It also concludes that "the aspectual meaning is of much lesser importance than the modal one" (Caubet 1990: 10).

Youssef (1990) covers different issues which are beyond the scope of the present study. Chapter 8 is relevant to the topic of our paper. It notes uses of active and passive participles with reference to the past (Youssef 1990: 204–207), present (Youssef 1990: 207–210), and assertive future or wish (Youssef 1990: 211). Youssef (1990) does not elaborate on the aspectual value of the participles in these usages, nor on the semantic categories of the participial lexemes.

2. *Imperfective simultaneous tense*

Participial clauses in this section express unbounded, imperfective states, overlapping or co-existing with the point of reference. Unless otherwise indicated, the moment of reference is identical with the moment of utterance, and the participial construction expresses then a present tense. In that respect present simultaneity is the unmarked function of that form. Yet, as noted by Comrie (1985: 63–64), the tense system of Classical Arabic allows also relative locations of the point of reference at any point of time. Hence, under certain constraints, participial clauses may also express simultaneity with past or future points of reference. As a simultaneous tense, participial structures show imperfective aspectual value.

2.1 *Imperfective present*

Participial structures may refer to a time simultaneous, coexistent, or overlapping with the moment of utterance. In contrast to Wild's observation with regard to participial structures in the Syrian dialect, participial structures in the Koran do not necessarily refer to a state resulting from a previous dynamic event. They may express an unbounded state simultaneous with the present, with no implication whatsoever of a dynamic event bounding this state, neither at its beginning nor at its end. Thus participial structures occur in examples (1)-(4), in which a resultant reading of the participial structure "He has become able", "He [thy Lord] has become ample" would amount to blasphemy:

(1) ʾinnahū ʿalā rağʿihī la-**qādirun**
surely-he on bringing-back-of-him assertive-**able-one**
"Surely He [God] is able to bring him back [to life]." (86: 8)
(2) qulʾinna l-lāha **qādirun** ʿalāʾan yunazzila ʾāyatan
say certainly the-god **able-one** on that he-will-send-down sign
"Say: 'Surely God is able to send down a Sign'." (6: 37)
(3) wa-ʾinnā ʿalā ḏahābin bi-hī la-**qādirūna**
and-certainly-we on taking-away with-it assertive-**able-ones**
"and We are able to take it away" (23: 18)

The same consideration also excludes a resultative reading of the participial structure in (4):

(4) ʾinna rabbaka **wāsiʿu** l-mağfirati
certainly lord-yours **ample-one** of-the-forgiveness
"Verily thy Lord is ample in forgiveness." (53: 32)

A resultative reading is hardly suitable with (5), as the participial structure does not imply a previous state of belief:

(5) 'innā bi-kullin **kāfirūna**
certainly-we in-each **disbelievers**
"We disbelieve both (of them)." (23: 48)

In (6) the participial structure may refer to a repeated pattern of behavior, as reflected in Arberry's translation:

(6) wa-l-lāhu yašhadu 'innahum la-**kāḏibūna**
and-God testifies surely-they assertive-**liars**
"and God testifies: they are truly liars" (9: 108)

The examples adduced in this section show two main uses of simultaneity overlapping with the present moment: (1) Non dynamic states, in contrast with Xrakovskij (1988: 330). (2) Repeated pattern of activity. Participial structures with the progressive are marginal in the Koran.[11] Thus, the examples adduced in this section cover most subdivisions of imperfectivity (Comrie 1976: 25, table 1; Appendix to the present paper, figure A1). Contrary to Wild (1964), some of these examples explicitly exclude a resultative reading of the participial structure, whereas other examples are neutral with regard to such an interpretation. This proves that the resultative is not part of the *meaning* of participial clauses, although they may sometimes implicate such a reading (see section 3.1 below). It is important to note that simultaneity with the moment of utterance—as exhibited in this section—does not require any contextual marker beyond the participial structure itself. In contrast, setting a past or a future point of reference for the simultaneous state expressed by the participial structure requires some overt marking (see next section). Hence, present simultaneity is the more normal, less specific, unmarked usage (Comrie 1976: 111) of this structure.

2.2 *Imperfective relative simultaneity*

As with other tenses in Classical Arabic (Comrie 1985: 63), the reference point of simultaneous participial structures is not necessarily the moment of utterance. Thus, the examples in this section show how the reference point may be located before or after the present

[11] For an example of the progressive use of the imperfective aspect see the first participle in (36) below.

moment. Yet, the location of the reference point outside the present moment has some constraints. Generally, non-present reference point is set by an auxiliary verb such as *kāna* "was" (7), or indicated outside the syntactical boundaries of the participial clause: by a time clause (12); a conditional clause (13); or another clause coordinated with the participial clause (14). Often the indication of the point of reference is supplied by the main clause, while the participial structure occurs as a subordinate circumstantial clause (10)–(11). Regarding the controversy over the basic distinction evoked by the Arabic system, namely a relative tense (Comrie 1985: 63) or perfective/imperfective aspect (Dahl 1987: 493–495), it is significant to note, that in main clauses in initial position, collocation of non-present time adverbials with imperfective participial structures is generally restricted.[12] Hence, contrary to Dahl's claim (Dahl 1987: 495), one cannot ascribe to these forms exclusively aspectual timeless meaning.[13]

In the following examples, when the reference point is located prior to the moment of utterance, the participial clause refers to a past state or pattern of behavior coexisting with that reference point, e.g.:

(7) ʾinna fir'awna wa-hāmāna wa-ǧunūdahumā kānū **ḫāṭʾīna**
certainly Pharaoh and-Haman and-hosts-their were-they **sinners**
"Certainly Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts were sinners." (28:8)

In this example the past reference point is explicitly marked by the auxiliary verb *kānū* "were-they" in the past tense. As we have seen in the previous section, the participial structure does not bound the imperfective state. Thus, in (7), the participial structure does not imply a preceding state of piety ascribed to Pharaoh and Haman, and such an interpretation would contrast with their image in the Koran. Another auxiliary marking a past reference point is *ʾaṣbaḥū* "they found themselves in the morning" in (8):

(8) fa-ʾaḫaḏathumu r-rağfatu fa-ʾaṣbaḥū
so-seized-them the-earthquake and-they-found-themselves-in the-morning

[12] This seems to be the case also with regard to the use of prefix conjugation in the Koran. For two counterexamples, see Blau (1979: 188). Yet, one of his examples occurs in a subordinate clause (11: 109), and the other in a coordinated clause (2: 91).

[13] Thus, contrary to Dahl's claim there, Arabic cannot use a prefix conjugation—nor a participle—to render a sentence such as "Yesterday at this time, he was playing tennis" ((7) there), unless a past point of reference is set by the auxiliary *kāna* "was": **fī ḏālika l-waqti ʾamsi yal'abu tinis*, but *fī ḏālika l-waqti ʾamsi kāna yal'abu tinis*.

fī dārihim **ǧāṯimīha**
in home-theirs prostrate-ones
"So the earthquake seized them, and they lay prostrate in their homes in the morning." (7: 78)

In the following example, the reference point is lexically supplied by the adverbial of time *yawma'iḏin* "that day". Note that this clause is coordinated to the apodosis of a conditional clause: "Whosoever comes with a good deed, he shall have better than it; and they shall be secure . . .". Thus collocation of a future time adverbial with the participial structure is possible here, because a future point of reference is first supplied outside the boundaries of the participial clause by the preceding conditional sentence:

(9) . . . wa-hum min fazaʿin yawma'iḏin **'āminūna**
. . . and-they from terror upon-day-of-then **secure-ones**
". . . and they shall be secure from terror that day" (27: 89)

In (10), the past reference point is supplied by the main clause, in which the participial clause is embedded as a circumstantial clause:

(10) 'am ḫalaqnā l-malā'ikata 'ināṯan wa-hum **šāhidūna**
or-whether created-we the-angels females while-they **witnesses**
"Or did We create the angels females, while they were witnesses?" (37: 150)

In (11), the reference point is set in the future by means of the main clause, in which the participial clause is embedded:

(11) wa-la-nuḫriǧannahum minhā 'aḏillatan
and-certainly-we-shall-expel-them from-it abased
wa-hum **ṣāġirūna**
while-they **humbled-ones**
"and certainly We shall expel them from there abased, being humbled" (27: 35)

The reference point is not necessarily supplied by the main clause. An adverbial clause in initial position may set a non-present reference point for the following participial main clause. In (12), a time clause precedes the main participial clause, and it is the former which sets a future reference point:

(12) yawma nabṭišu l-baṭšata l-kubrā 'innā
upon-day we-assault the-assault the-most-mighty certainly-we
muntaqimūna
vengeance-takers

"Upon the day when We shall assault most mightily, then We shall take Our vengeance." (44: 16)

As can be seen in (13), conditional clauses in initial position may also set a future point of reference for the participial main clause:

(13) wa-'innā lan nadḫulahā ḥattā
and-certainly-we shall-not we-shall-enter-it until
yaḫruǧū minhā fa-'in yaḫruǧū minhā
they-will-go-out from-it and-if they-go-out from-it
fa-'innā **dāḫilūna**
then-certainly-we **entering-ones**
"We will not enter it until they depart from it; if they depart from it, then we will enter." (5: 24)

The reference point may be set by a preceding clause, with which the participial clause is coordinated:

(14) qālū sa-nurāwidu ʿanhu 'abāhu wa-'innā
said-they we-will-solicit of-him father-his and-certainly-we
la-**fāʿilūna**
assertive-**doers**
"They said: 'We will solicit him of our father; that we will do'." (12: 61)

The data adduced in this section indicate that participial clauses in Arabic may have a relative point of reference, and not necessarily the present moment as their deictic center. It is inaccurate to conclude, however, that participial clauses are timeless. Thus, the reference point would generally be the present moment of utterance. Setting up a non-present point of reference has clear constraints. Thus, the use of a participial structure to express a past state such as: *In the past, he was a liar* is ungrammatical in initial position. Setting a non-present point of reference can be done either by an auxiliary, such as *kāna* "was", or within the boundaries of a preceding clause. Thus, even though Arabic allows some freedom in setting a relative point of reference, it does not mean that Arabic has no constraints in so doing. Hence, the claim that the Arabic system is tenseless is inaccurate. In all the examples above, the time of the participial structure was simultaneous with the point of reference. Therefore the participles in these examples can be described as an imperfective simultaneous relative tense. As will be seen in the following section, however, the temporal and aspectual uses of Arabic participial clauses may be more complicated.

3. *Semi-imperfective present*

In many instances Arabic participial clauses refer to a present state which is explicitly bounded at its beginning, or at its end by a dynamic perfective event (see Appendix, figure A2). In these cases the actualization of the bounding event expressed by the participial lexeme is not simultaneous with the point of reference, but rather prior or posterior to it. The participial structure refers to some contingent state associated with, and bounded by this event. This semi-imperfective state is coexisting with the moment of speech, and the usage of participles here focuses on the present state bounded by that event. In these uses, the actualization of the event and its coinciding state occupy a continuous segment of time. Yet, in these cases, the grammatical structure makes no explicit mention of the extended time-span. Rather, it is implied by extragrammatical indications, such as knowledge of the world, situational context, lexical indication of time, etc. As the actualization of the bounding event has no overt time marking in these structures, it can be either prior or posterior to the present moment, depending on the context. Thus, Arabic participial clauses may cover both the retrospective and prospective present (Anderson 1973: 39–40, Comrie 1976: 64). In both uses, it shows semi-imperfective aspect. Similarly to Egyptian Arabic (Mitchell 1978: 243), the examples found in the Koran show no aspectual difference between active and passive participles (see for example (15) and (16) below).

3.1 *Retrospective semi-imperfectives*

When the context locates the actualization of the dynamic event prior to the moment of utterance, the participial structure refers to a state, the beginning of which is bounded by the actualization of that event. Hence it indicates inclusion of this past event in interrelationship with the current state at the present moment. This interrelationship can be interpreted as relevance, result, or a state following a dynamic event. Informationally, this function of participial structures is similar to resultative uses of the English present perfect. Yet, while the English structure is grammatically marked as a combination of a present state with a prior event (by the present form *have*, and the past participle respectively), Arabic participial structures are grammatically marked for simultaneity only, while their past bound-

ing is only an implicature, liable to be cancelled in other contexts. This function of participial structures is very common in some dialects of Arabic.[14] According to my data, however, such uses of participles are quite marginal in the Koran. This is probably related to the fact that Classical Arabic possesses another structure for expressing the resultative, namely *qad* + suffix conjugation. Hence, prospective bounding of present states (see section 3.2 below) is much more common in the Koran than retrospective bounding of present states.

In the following examples, the location of the event in the past is not indicated by the grammatical structure, but rather by situational context, knowledge of the world, etc.:

(15) qul-i l-lāhu **ḫāliqu** kulli šay'in wa-huwa l-wāḥidu
say God **creator** of-every thing and-he the-one
l-qahhāru
the-omnipotent
"Say: God is the creator of (= has created) all things, He is the One, the Omnipotent." (13: 16)

In this example, it is extralinguistic knowledge that tells us that the time of creation is prior to the present moment. This is also the case in the following examples, which in other circumstances might have expressed different time reference:

(16) rabbunā yaʿlamu 'innā 'ilaykum la-**mursalūna**
Lord-ours knows certainly-we to-you: pl. assertive-**sent-ones**
"Our Lord knows that we have been sent on a mission to you." (36: 16)

Arberry's translation: "we are Envoys unto you" expresses the present stative reference of the Arabic construction, but makes no mention of the past bounding implied by the Arabic verse. Hence I prefer the present perfect here, because it conveys both the present and past references of the Arabic.

In (17)–(19) it is the situational context which determines the time boundary of the present state expressed by the participial clauses. As readers may differ in their interpretation of the situation, English translations may vary in their uses of tenses:

(17) 'innā la-**muġramūna** bal naḥnu **maḥrūmūna**
certainly-we assertive-**debt-loaded** nay we **robbed-ones**
"We are debt-loaded; nay, we have been robbed!" (56: 66–67)

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[14] See Mitchell (1952), Wild (1964), Piamenta (1966: 204ff.), Mitchell (1978).

(18) qālū ʾinnā la-**ḍāllūna** bal naḥnu
said-they certainly-we **assertive-someones-gone-astray** nay we
maḥrūmūna
robbed-ones
They said: "Surely we have lost our way;[15] nay, rather we have been robbed." (68: 26–27)

(19) qāla ʾaṣḥābu mūsā ʾinnā la-**mudrakūna**
said companions of-Moses certainly-we assertive-**overtaken-ones**
"[and when the two hosts saw each other,] the companions of Moses said: 'We are overtaken!'" (26: 62)

It is interesting to note, that Yusuf Ali translates the participle here as a prospective present: "We are sure to be overtaken". In other words, the location of the bounding event in the past is not part of the *meaning* of the participial structure, but rather implied by extralingual indications. Hence, the function of the participial structure as semi-imperfective with retrospective bounding is only an *implicature.* As will be shown in the following section, in different situations the same construction may refer to a future bounding of the present state.

3.2 *Prospective semi-imperfectives*

Sometimes, extragrammatical indications determine a future bounding of the present state expressed by the participial structure. The use of participial structures in these cases indicates that a future event is brought into interrelationship with the moment of utterance, for example, when preparations are under way now for the future event; when determination with regard to a future event coexists with the moment of utterance, etc. Prospective bounding of a present state by means of a participial structure is similar to some English uses of the so-called "futurate progressive", e.g.:

John's leaving tomorrow.[16]

The use of the "present progressive" form here indicates semi-imperfective present intention, preparation, pre-arranged plan, or determination, bounded by the actualization of a future dynamic event.

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[15] In Arberry's translation "are gone astray".

[16] For this example within a broader discussion of the category of *inclusion* operating in English "futurate progressive", see McCoard (1978: 152–153). For different uses of the simple and the progressive present forms with reference to future events see also Wekker (1976: 108ff.); Hirtle and Curat (1986).

Future time reference is inferred through extragrammatical means, in this example by the adverbial *tomorrow*. English expression of future events by means of *be going to*, which denotes the future culmination of present intention, cause, etc.,[17] is informationally equivalent to the Arabic usage: the Arabic examples also refer to a present state (preparation, pre-arrangement, determination, etc.) bounded by the actualization of a future event. Yet, whereas English *be going to* formally expresses present time reference by means of *be going* and always implies a future actualization of its complementing infinitive, the Arabic structure formally marks the present by the participial *form*,[18] while the future reference of the participial *lexeme* is only an implicature. Reckendorf (1906: 261) has grasped the compound value of these structures in Arabic, hence he notes that their translation by means of future finite verbs does not render their full meaning. His preference is to translate Arabic participial structures like these by adding modals such as *can, want, need, must, intend, be able, incline, be ready*, etc. Note that a periphrastic structure of a modal in the present tense + an infinitive grammatically marks both the present and the future time references of the Arabic structure. In this respect, his proposal is close to the English periphrastic future *be going to*. Yet, as noted earlier, the Arabic structure grammatically marks only the present reference, while leaving the future time reference as an implicature. Hence, translation by means of English futurate progressive is preferable, because it is closer to the Arabic construction, insofar as both leave the future reference unspecified.[19] In the following examples, pragmatic considerations exclude past or present actualization of the event, thus dictating a posterior reading. Whenever possible, I have translated the Arabic prospective by means of English futurate progressive. In other cases I have translated the Arabic participial clauses by means of *be going to*:

(20) ʾinna mā tūʿadūna la-**ʾātin**
certainly what you-are-promised assertive-**coming-thing**
"The thing you are promised is certainly coming." (6: 134)

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[17] Leech (1971), quoted in Haegeman (1989: 293). See also Wekker (1976: 123ff.).
[18] As noted in section 2 above, this is the unmarked function of this form. See further fn. 13 above.
[19] However, English futurate progressive has more constraints on the semantic category of the verbal lexeme, whereas Arabic participial clauses with prospective bounding of the present occur with any dynamic telic verb (see section 4 below).

Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate the Arabic participial structure by English *will* tense, which excludes interrelationship between the future event and the present state. Hence, a "futurate progressive" "is coming", or "is about to come" is closer to the Arabic structure.

The same applies to the following examples in this section:

(21) ʾinna s-sāʿata la-**ʾātiyatun**
certainly the-hour assertive-**coming-thing**
"The Hour is coming."[20] (40: 59)

(22) ʾinna l-laḏī farada ʿalayka l-qurʾāna
certainly he-who imposed upon-you the-recitation
la-**rāddu**-ka ʾilā maʿādin
assertive-**restoring-one**-of-you to a-place-of-homing
"He who imposed the Recitation upon thee is surely going to restore thee to a place of homing."[21] (28: 85)

(23) ʾinna ʿaḏāba rabbika la-**wāqiʿun**
certainly chastisement of-lord-yours assertive-**falling-thing**
mā la-hū min dāfiʿin
no to-it of repellent
"Surely thy Lord's chastisement is about to fall;[22] there is none to avert it." (52: 7) (See also 77: 7)

(24) qāla ʾinna l-lāha **mubtalī**-kum bi-nahrin
said-he certainly the-god **trying-one**-of-you:pl.:mas. with-a-river
"He said: 'God is going to try you with a river'."[23] (2: 249)

(25) ʾinnakum la-**ḏāʾiqū** l-ʿaḏābi
certainly-you:pl:mas assertive-**tasting-ones** of-the-chastisement
l-ʾalīmi
the-painful
"Now certainly you are going to taste the painful chastisement."[24] (37: 38)

(26) rabbanā ʾinnaka **ǧāmiʿu** n-nāsi li-yawmin
O-lord-ours certainly-you **a-gathering-one** of-the-people for-a-day
lā rayba fī-hi
no doubt in-it

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[20] Thus in Arberry's translation. Y. Ali translates this verse by the English *will* form, accompanied by *certainly* to express the assertive element.

[21] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *will* form.

[22] Y. Ali translates this verse by a *will* form.

[23] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *will* form.

[24] Cf. the same participle in verse 31 of this Sura. The dependency of participial constructions on contextual indication of time reference is again exhibited by two different tenses in the translations of Arberry and Yusuf Ali: whereas the former uses a present progressive "we are tasting it", the latter uses a future tense "we shall indeed (have to) taste".

"Our Lord, you are going to gather mankind for a day whereon is no doubt."[25] (3:9)

In the following verse, four participial structures in coordination refer to a series of future events to be actualized in sequential order:

(27) yā ʿĪsā ʾinnī **mutawaffī**-ka wa-**rāfiʿu**-ka ʾilayya
O Jesus certainly-I **taking-one**-of-you and-**raising-one**-of-you to-me
wa-**muṭahhiru**-ka min-a l-laḏīna kafarū
and-**purifying-one**-of-you from those-who disbelieved-they
wa-**ǧāʿilu** l-laḏīna t-tabaʿūka fawqa l-laḏīna
and-**setting-one** of-those-who followed-they-you above those-who
kafarū ʾilā yawmi l-qiyāmati
disbelieved-they till day of-the-resurrection
"Jesus, I am going to take you to Me and to raise you to Me, and to purify you of those who believe not, and to set your followers above the unbelievers till the Resurrection Day."[26] (3: 55)

Similarly, sequential order of future events is expressed in the following verse. Yet, the sequential order is grammatically marked here by the coordinator prefix *fa-* which expresses temporal or logical sequence (Beeston 1970: 97):

(28) wa-ʾinnī **mursilatun** ʾilay-him bi-hadiyyatin
and-certainly-I **sending-one** to-them with-a-present
fa-**nāẓiratun** bi-ma yarǧiʿu l-mursalūna
then **looking-one** with-what come-back the-envoys
"Now I am going to send[27] them a present, and see what the envoys bring back." (27: 35)

Similarly in rhetorical questions:

(29) wa-yaqūlūna ʾa-ʾinnā la-**tārikū**
and-say-they interrogative-indeed-we assertive-**forsaking-ones**
ʾālihatinā li-šāʿirin maǧnūnin
of-gods-ours for-a-poet possessed
"saying: 'What, are we going to forsake our gods for a poet possessed?'"[28] (37: 36)

(30) yaqūlūna ʾa-ʾinnā la-**mardūdūna**
say-they interrogative-indeed-we assertive-**returned-ones**
fī l-ḥāfirati

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[25] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *will* form.
[26] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *will* form.
[27] Arberry translates it by a *will* form.
[28] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *shall* form.

into the-former-state
"They say (now): What! Are we indeed going to be returned[29] to (our former state?"" (79: 10)

The future actualization of the event expressed by the participial clause may be lexically indicated by adverbial of time. In this case, two different interpretations are possible: either a semi-imperfective state bounded by a posterior event; or; a relative location of the reference point in the future (for the constraints on setting a relative point of reference, see section 2.2 above). In the following verses, no indication to a relative point of reference precedes the participial structure, hence a prospective bounding of a present state seems more likely:

(31) wa-lā taqūlanna li-šay'in 'innī **fā'ilun** ḏālika
and-not say-you to-something certainly-I **doing-one** that
ġadan 'illā 'an yašā'a l-lāhu
tomorrow except that want-he the-god
"And do not say, regarding anything, 'I am going to do that tomorrow', but only, 'If God Will'" (18: 24)

(32) 'innakum **mab'ūṯūna min ba'di l-mawti**
certainly-you:pl. **raised-ones from after the-death**
"You are going to be raised up after death."[30] (11: 7)

(33) qul 'inna l-'awwalīna wa-l-'āḫirīna
say:you:sing:imperative certainly the-ancients and-the-later
la-**maǧmū'ūna 'ilā mīqāti yawmin ma'lūmin**
assertive-gathered-ones to a-time of-a-day known
"Say: 'The ancients and the later folk are going to be gathered to the appointed time of a known day'".[31] (56: 49–50)

(34) wa-kulluhum **'ātī**-hi **yawma l-qiyāmati**
and-each-of-them **coming-one**-to-him **upon-day of-the-resurrection**
fardan
alone
"Every one of them is going to come to Him upon the day of Resurrection all alone."[32] (19: 95)

(35) wa-'in min qaryatin 'illā naḥnu **muhlikū**-hā **qabla**
and-no of city except we **destroying-ones**-of-her **before**
yawmi l-qiyāmati 'aw **mu'aḏḏibū**-hā
day of-the-resurrection or **chastising-ones**-of-her

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[29] In Arberry's translation: "are we being restored". Y. Ali translates it by *shall.*
[30] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by a *shall* form.
[31] Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by *shall and will* respectively.
[32] Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by *shall* and *will* respectively.

ʿaḏāban šadīdan
chastisement terrible
"No city is there, but We are going to destroy it before the Day of Resurrection or We are going to chastise it with a terrible chastisement."[33] (17: 58)

The Arabic examples of participial structures adduced in this section turn out to be the exact reversal of the examples in section 3.1, both exhibiting parallel uses of semi-imperfective present states. Thus, in these examples, one grammatical form expresses the two parallel uses of semi-imperfectives exhibited by different grammatical forms in English, namely present perfect versus *be going to*,[34] or futurate progressive.[35]

4. *The telic factor in participial clauses*

A comparison between the "character" of the events (states, events, etc.) expressed by the participial lexemes in sections 2.1–2.2 and 3. above (expressing imperfective simultaneity and semi-imperfective present respectively) shows a clear-cut distinction: whereas the participial lexemes in sections 2.1–2.2 refer to non-dynamic states, the ones occurring in section 3 are dynamic: they are either momentary or imply a final aim or a terminal point. This distinction basically corresponds to what has lately been known by the terms "telic" (goal-defined) versus "atelic" (not goal-defined).[36] In some cases, however,

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[33] Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by *shall*.

[34] For the parallelism between these forms, see Haegeman (1989: 300 301), section 4 and the literature cited there. For pragmatic elaboration, with main emphasis on contextual effect, see section 5.2.2, 305–306 there. On p. 307, section 5.3.3 (erroneously printed 5.2.3), the author comes up with "present time contextualization" as the relevant function of these constructions, no longer seeing the different notions such as present intention, etc. as specific inherent meanings of the structure. In that respect, my approach is similar to hers, though she does not refer to present time contextualization of futurate progressive.

[35] As we have seen above, McCoard (1978: 152–153) has related these two forms to the category of *inclusion* (of "now").

[36] See, for example, Comrie (1976: 44–48). In contrast with Comrie (1976: 47), the Arabic examples denote a terminal point, but do not necessarily refer to a process leading up to the terminal point. For a broader application of the term telic, see McCoard (1978: 8); with application to "extended now" theory, section 4.8, pp. 141ff.; for different terminology, p. 161, n. 19, where the proposal of the term "telic" is attributed to Garey (1957: 106); Dahl (1985: 29) uses the pair "bounded" "unbounded" in subclassification of dynamic situations. Hirtle (1988: 97–90) follows Vendler (1967) in distinguishing between different kinds of events

the participial structure implies a telic reading of an apparently atelic participial lexeme. Thus, even the participial lexeme *kā'in* "is" may express the inchoative, or the beginning of a state. In that case the transition into that state is viewed as its terminal point. Note the following example from Youssef (1990: 213), quoted from Ibn Hišām: *fa-'innahū kā'inun li-bni 'aḫīka hāḏā ša'nun ʿaẓīmun* "Because this son of your brother is going to have a great importance". In this example the lexeme *kā'inun* may be substituted by a telic lexeme such as "achieve".[37]

The participial structures in sections 2.1–2.2 denote either single states such as: *qādirun* "is/are able" (1–3); *kāfirūna* "(we) disbelieve" (4); *wāsiʿ* "is ample" (5); or a pattern of repeated activities, such as: *kāḏibūna* "(they) are liars" (6); *kānū ḫāṭi'īna* "they were sinners" (7). In both cases, no reference is made to a dynamic change of state, neither to the "beginning" nor to the "end" of the "event time" (Hirtle 1988: 87). The only reference of these static participles is to the "middle" part of the event time (Hirtle 1988: 87). In that respect they may be characterized as imperfective. The participial lexemes in section 3, on the other hand, denote dynamic events which bound the beginning or end of their accompanying (posterior or prior) states, e.g.: *ḫāliqu kulli šay'in* "has created everything, (he) is the creator of everything" (15); *mursalūna* "(we) have been sent" (16); *ḍāllūna* "(we) have lost, our way" (18); *maḥrūmūna* "(we) have been robbed" (17–18); *'ātin* "is coming" (20); *rādduka* "(he) is going to restore you, (he) is about to restore you" (22); *wāqiʿun* "is about to fall" (23); *mubtalīkum* "(he) is going to try you" (24); *ḏā'iqū l-ʿaḏābi* "(you) are going to taste the (painful) chastisement (25); *ǧāmiʿu n-nāsi* (you) are going to gather mankind" (26); *'a-'innā la-***tārikū** 'ālihatinā "are we going to forsake our gods" (29); *murdūdūna* "are (we) going to be returned"

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according to their EVENT TIME. He refers to "achievements" and "accomplishments" as "performances, characterized by the fact that they are end-oriented, telic". Beeston (1970: 76ff.) distinguishes between two aspectual factors related to Arabic predicates: the one is "static" (frozen situation), and the other "dynamic" (depicting a change from one situation to another). Although he does not apply this distinction on participial structures, it seems to correspond to the basic distinction made in our present section. A correlation between the lexical meaning of present participles and their different functions in Palestinian Arabic has been noted by Piamenta (1966: 204), Mitchell (1978), Henkin (1985).

[37] An atelic reading of an apparently telic lexeme, such as *arrive*, may result from a substitution of a singular subject with a plural subject. Mitchell (1978: 235) illustrates this by **John began to arrive* vs. *The spectators/guests/crowd began to arrive.*

(30); *fāʿilun* "(I) am going to do" (31); *mubʿūṯūna* "(you) are going to be raised up" (32); *maǧmūʿūna* "(they) are going to be gathered" (33); *muhlikūhā* "(We) are going to destroy it" (35).

The telic factor may even determine two different time references for two participles in coordination. In each of the following two examples, the different time reference of the coordinated participles depends on the different character of the event expressed by the participial lexeme: whereas the first expresses a durative atelic activity (36) or a state (37), the second is telic. Hence the situational context excludes a present interpretation of the second participle, thus implicating that it refers to a future bounding of the present state:

(36) yā ʾayyuhā l-ʾinsānu ʾinnaka **kādiḥun** ʾilā rabbika
O vocative the-man certainly-you **laboring-one** unto lord-yours
kadḥan fa-**mulāqī**-hi
a-labor and-**encountering-one**-of-him
"O Man! Thou art labouring unto thy Lord laboriously, and you are going to encounter Him."[38] (84: 6)

(37) ʾinnamā tūʿadūna la-**ṣādiqun** wa-ʾinna
certainly-what you-are-promised assertive-**true-thing** and certainly
d-dīna la-**wāqiʿun**
the-doom assertive-**falling-thing**
"Surely that which you are promised is true, and surely the Doom is about to fall!"[39] (51: 5–6)

In (28) above, the first participle *mursilatun* "(I) am going to send" is telic, thus expressing a posterior bounding of a present state, namely present planning, determination, etc. to be culminated by the actualization of a future event expressed by the participial lexeme. The coordinated atelic participle *fa-nāẓiratun* "and see" expresses unbounded imperfective state simultaneous with the future point of reference (set by the preceding telic participle).

5. *Interchangeability of participial structures and finite verbs*

In order to demonstrate some of the points discussed in the previous pages, it is of interest to contrast the use of participles with the prefix conjugation in the Koran. Prefix conjugation in Arabic also

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[38] Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate this verse by *shall.*

[39] Y. Ali translates the last part of this verse: "And Justice must indeed come to pass", expressing the present reference by *must,* and the future by the infinitive form.

expresses present (or relative) simultaneity. In addition, it may refer to future time, but this is always an implicature, unless a future-marker prefix *sa-* or *sawfa* is attached to it. These time references of the prefix conjugation are similar to those of participial structures, with one basic distinction: the former seldom exhibits uses of semi-imperfective aspect as the latter do.[40] Thus, the two forms may refer to the same event, yet note the different departure-points from which the same event is viewed in the following verse by means of a participle and a prefix conjugation respectively:

(38) wa-ʾiḏ qāla rabbuka li-l-malāʾikati ʾinnī **ǧaʿilun**
and-when said lord-yours to-the-angels certainly-I **placing-one**
fī l-ʾʾarḍi ḫalīfatan qālū ʾa-**taǧʿalu** fī-hā
in the-earth a-viceroy said-they interrogative-**will-you-place** in-her
man yufsidu fī-hā
one-who will-corrupt in-her
"And when thy Lord said to the angels: 'I am going to place a viceroy on earth'. They said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do corruption therein'." (2: 30)

Both Arberry and Y. Ali translate the participial structure in this verse by the English *will* tense. I prefer the form *be going to* here, because it renders the semi-imperfective aspect of a future activity, bounding a present state of determination. The use of the prefix conjugation in the angels' answer refers to the same future event, yet with no reference to the present state, hence it can be properly translated by English *will* tense. Reckendorf (1906: 263) correctly distinguishes between the two structures by adding "a present tense verb, *gedenke,* to render the present state reference of the Arabic participle, while its future culmination is rendered by the infinitive complement *einzusetzen.* The Arabic prefix conjugation is rendered in Reckendorf's translation by the future tense *willst . . . einsetzen*: 'als dein Herr zu den Engein sprach: 'Ich gedenke auf der Erde einen Vertreter einzusetzen', sprachen sie: 'Willst du auf ihr einen einsetzen, der auf ihr Unheil anrichtet?'".

In the following verse, the prefix conjugation is coordinated to the participial structure. Both express a present state to be culminated by a future eschatological event. As is often the case in eschatolog-

[40] For similar, but not identical, uses of prefix conjugation, see Reckendorf (1906: 261, n. 1).

ical descriptions in the Koran, they are presented as imminent, already determined events. The coordinated prefix conjugation marks another bounding of the present state expressed by the preceding participial structure:

(39) d̲ālika bi-ʾanna . . . wa-ʾanna s-sāʿata **ʾātiyatun** lā rayba
that because . . . and-because the-hour **coming-thing** no doubt
fī-hā wa-ʾanna l-lāha **yabʿat̲u** man fī l-qubūri
about-her and-because the-god **he-will-raise** whosoever in the-graves
"That is because . . . and because the hour is coming,[41] no doubt about it, and God will raise up whosoever is in the graves." (22: 6–7)

In both Arberry's and Y. Ali's translations, the coordinated prefix conjugation is rendered by English *shall/will* tense. Yet if it is understood as another bounding of the present state expressed by the preceding participial structure, it would be better translated by "and God is about to raise up". If my interpretation is right, the interchangeability of the participle with the prefix conjugation exhibits neutralization of the distinction between prospective semi-imperfective and future tense. In (40) too, the participial structure is coordinated to a finite verb in the prefix conjugation. Both structures use the same verbal lexeme, which in both cases is predicted to God. It is plausible to assume that both forms are interchangeable here. If so, it might indicate that the original distinctions between the two forms are neutralized:

(40) **yuḫriğu** l-ḥayya min-a l-mayyiti wa-**muḫriğu** l-mayyiti
bring-forth-He the-living from the-dead and-**bringing-forth** the-dead
min-a l-ḥayyi
from the living
"He brings forth the living from the dead; He brings forth the dead from the living." (6: 95)

Neutralization of the distinction between prospective semi-imperfective and future tense may result in a semantic change: the form that originally expressed the prospective semi-imperfective may turn into a future tense, with no focus on the present state of plan, intention, etc. The data from the Koran do not exhibit such a change.

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[41] I prefer Arberry's translation by "futurate progressive" upon Yusuf Ali's translation: "the Hour will come", because the latter does not render the semi-imperfective aspect of the Arabic participial.

6. *Interdependence of time, aspect, and modality*

The data adduced in the present paper supply interesting evidence for the interrelationship of these notions. In sections 2.1–2.2, where the events expressed by participial lexemes are not end-oriented, or atelic, the participial structure expresses imperfective present tense. In most cases this imperfectivity refers to non-dynamic states, and marginally to a repeated pattern of events or to progressive activities (Comrie 1976: 25, table 1; figure A1 in our Appendix). In all these uses, however, the state or activity is open-ended, with no reference to its beginning or end. When, under certain constraints, a non-present reference point is set, the atelic participial structure refers to a state, or other imperfective events, co-existing with the non-present reference point.

In contrast with sections 2.2–2.3, the participial lexemes in section 3 refer to end-oriented, telic events which bound their accompanying present states. The actualization of the telic event is either in the past, marking the beginning of the present state (section 3.1), or in the future, marking the end of the present state (section 3.2.). Thus, the examples adduced under section 3 refer to present states which are bounded on one edge by a dynamic, telic event: in the retrospective examples of section 3.1 it is the *beginning* of the state which is bounded by the telic event; in the prospective examples of section 3.2, it is the *end* of the state which is bounded by the telic event. In that respect they can be characterized as *semi-imperfectives*. Hence, I suggest adding an additional sub-category of aspect, or event time, to cover the three possible ways in which languages refer to event time: (1) perfectivity expresses the totality of an event—including its beginning, middle, and end; (2) unbounded imperfectivity expresses open-ended events, with no specification of beginning or end; (3) semi-imperfectivity expresses a state bounded on one edge and open on the other. Arabic participial structures may cover both the retrospective and the prospective boundness of a present state. The English present perfect covers the retrospective boundness of a present state, while futurate progressive and *be going to* cover the prospective boundness of a present state. Thus, introducing a semi-imperfective category offers a reasonable solution for the hitherto unclear aspectual classification of the perfect with regard to the main aspectual distinctions of perfectivity and imperfectivity (Comrie 1976: 6). It also explains why recent studies have noted common features

between the English present perfect and futurate progressive or *be going to*, as all exhibit semi-imperfective aspects. In Arabic, the expression of a past event by means of a participial structure focuses on the present state, whereas its past bounding by the actualization of that event is only an implicature. This usage of participial structure contains "a subjective element incorporating the event into the time of speech", similar to the one observed in the English present perfect.[42] Similarly to the English present perfect, the Arabic structure determines a present contextualization of the past event.

Posterior bounding of a present state—by a future actualization of the event expressed by the participial lexeme—exhibits interdependence of time, aspect and modality. Reflection upon a future event from a present point of view presents a future event as already in the process of taking place, whereas the use of a regular future tense implies the probability that the predicted activity might not eventually take place. Hence the expression of future events by means of a participial structure is more assertive (a similar observation was made by Mitchell (1952: 28)). This modal constituent does not necessarily have a grammatical marker—it is rather inferred by the figurative use of a simultaneous-present tense as a semi-imperfective aspect, bounded by a future event.[43] In many instances, however, modality is also overtly expressed by the assertive modal marker *la-* prefixed to the participle in topic-comment structures initiated by *ʾinna* "certainly, verily, indeed". As noted above with respect to retrospective bounding of present states, prospective bounding also shows a combination of semi-imperfective state at the present with a perfective event in the future (see figure A2 in the Appendix).

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[42] See Haegeman (1989: 303).

[43] On figurative uses (as well as polysemy and homonymy in systems of tense, mood and aspect, see Kinberg (1991). From historical linguistic point of view, it is interesting to note, that a figurative approach to anomalous uses of tenses in Arabic has already been proposed by medieval Arabic linguists, such as Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338: I, 124); Taftāzānī (d. 791/1388) in his commentary on Qazwīnī; as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505: 109–127). They refer to figurative uses of past tense verbs with reference to future time, in order to express certainty with regard to future occurrences; they also ascribe a similar effect to figurative uses of participles with reference to future events, by presenting these future events as if they were already in the process of taking place. Their explanation clearly ascribes to the Arabic system a hierarchy of primary, literal time reference versus a secondary, figurative, subjective location in time. The latter usage shows interdependence of time and modality.

7. *Some general implications on the theory of TMA systems*

The introduction of an additional aspectual sub-category—that of semi-imperfectives—covers a gap which exists in the common aspectual distinction of perfective and imperfective event times. This gap is responsible for the unclarity in previous studies with regard to the aspectual distinctions of present perfect (Comrie 1976) and futurate progressive or *be going to*. Some have tried to solve this difficulty by adopting a combined-tense approach (McCoard 1978, Comrie 1985). Others have applied a vague criterion such as current relevance (Haegeman 1989). My proposed framework deals with these uses by means of the two cross-linguistically most basic parameters in TMA systems, namely tense and aspect (or event time).

8. *Conclusion*

Arabic participial structure covers two types of imperfective present (or simultaneity): unbounded imperfectives; and semi-imperfectives. Unbounded imperfectives are restricted to atelic events, mainly states, and marginally iteratives or progressives.

Semi-imperfective participial structures in Arabic express a state by means of its bounding (retrospective or prospective) edge. The participial *lexeme* refers to the dynamic event which bounds one edge of the present state, while the participial *form* refers to the semi-imperfective, present state. *Retrospective* or *prospective* bounding of the present state is left as a *contextual implicature.*

Appendix

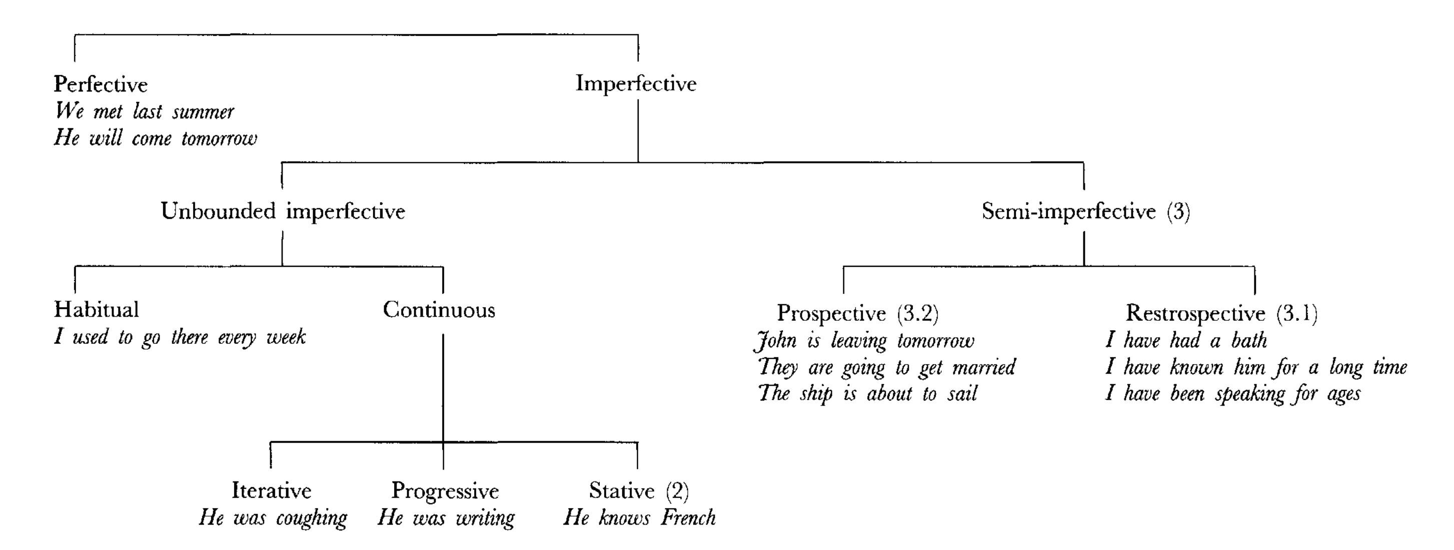
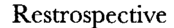


Fig. A1. Classification of aspectual oppositions—event time.



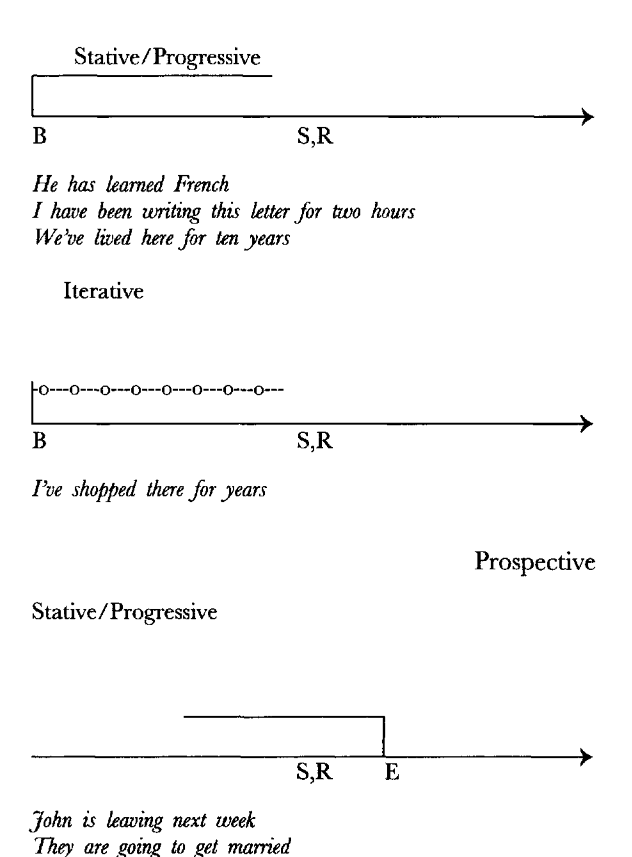


Fig. A.2. Semi-imperfectives. B = Beginning; E = end; R = Reference point; S = moment of speech.

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THE CONCEPTS OF ELEVATION AND DEPRESSION IN MEDIEVAL ARABIC PHONETIC THEORY

The concepts of elevation and depression are inherent in the phonetic tradition of the Hebrew Masora,[1] the East Syrian vowel system,[2] and in the Arabic names for the syntactic cases, namely *rafʿ*—"elevation" and *ḫafḍ*—"depression". Modern scholars have offered different interpretations for the phonetic perception which underlies these terms. Most scholars tend to relate the concepts of elevation and depression to articulatory features,[3] but lately a different interpretation has been suggested, which refers to the aero-kinetic aspect, namely an inclination upward or downward of the air-stream on its way out.[4]

In the present paper I would like to check the concepts of elevation and depression as reflected in several works by medieval Arab grammarians. In these works the term elevation generally applies to seven consonants and one vowel, namely the consonants *ḫāʾ* [x], *ġayn* [ɣ], *qāf* [q], the four emphatics *ṣād* [ṣ], *ḍād* [ḍ], *ṭāʾ* [ṭ], *ẓāʾ* [ẓ], and the vowel *ḍamma* [u]. All these sounds share a velar/uvular articulation.[5] According to this concept all the consonants which are articulated either backward or forward from this place are considered depressed or low. Thus the term depressed applies both for the consonants *ʿayn* [ʕ], *ḥāʾ* [ħ], *hāʾ* [h] *hamza* [ʔ], which are articulated backward from the velar/uvular area of elevation, as well as for the consonants *kāf* [k], *ǧīm* [d3], *šīn* [ʃ], *yāʾ* [j], *lām* [l], *rāʾ* [r], *sīn* [s], which are articulated forward from the velar/uvular area of elevation. According to this concept, the Arabic vowels have two poles: the elevated one which characterizes the vowel [*u*], and the depressed one which marks the vowel [*i*].[6] In other words one can describe

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[1] See Revell, p. 181.
[2] Ibid.
[3] See Eldar, pp. 43–45.
[4] Ibid., pp. 46–47.
[5] See Blanc, pp. 17–20.
[6] According to Morag (pp. 195–196), the vowel *a* is neutral with regard to elevation and depression. However, Arab grammarians regard it as homorganic with

the concept of elevation as the highest point of articulation from which there is a downward inclination either backward or forward, and the sounds are characterized according to their place of articulation relatively to the place of elevation:[7]

	depressed (backward)	elevated	depressed (forward)
consonants	ħ, ʕ, h, ʔ	x, ɣ, q, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ	k, dʒ, ʃ, j, l, r, n, d, t, z, s, ð, θ, f, b, m, w
vowels	a	u	i

I would like to present now several passages by medieval Arab grammarians which reflect this concept of elevation and depression. I shall start with Sībawayhi (180/796), one of the earliest and most prominent authorities among the Arab grammarians. The passage introduces the terms *al-ḥurūf al-mustaʿliya*, "elevated consonants";[8] *tasaffful* "depression", "lowness"; *inḥadara/ṣawwaba* "descend" (from an elevated sound toward a depressed one); *ṣaʿʿada/iṣʿād/istiʿlāʾ* "ascend" (from a depressed sound toward an elevated one). The terms elevation and depression in this passage refer to the position of the tongue and its movement from an elevated (velar/uvular) point of articulation toward a depressed (in this context front) place of articulation:[9]

> *fa-l-ḥurūfu l-latī tamnaʿu l-imālata hāḏihi s-sabʿatu ṣ-ṣādu wa-ḍ-ḍādu wa-ṭ-ṭāʾu wa-l-ẓ-ẓāʾu wa-l-ġaynu wa-l-qāfu wa-l-ḫāʾu iḏā kāna ḥarfun minhā qabla l-alifi wa-alifu talīhi . . . wa-innamā manaʿat hāḏihi l-ḥurūfu l-imālata liʾannahā ḥurūfun mustaʿliyatun ilā l-ḥanaki l-aʿlā wa-l-alifu iḏā ḫarağat min mawḍiʿihā staʿlat ilā l-ḥanaki l-aʿlā fa-lammā kānat maʿa hāḏihi l-ḥurūfi l-mustaʿliyati ġalabat ʿalayhā kamā ġalabati l-kasratu ʿalayhā fī masāğid wa-naḥwihā fa-lammā*

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alif, hence they consider it as depressed backward (See for instance the descriptions of Sībawayhi and Ibn Ğinnī, pp. 16–17 and 17–18 below respectively).

[7] This concept of elevation differs from that proposed by Revell (p. 181). According to his view "a sound which is articulated towards the back of the mouth is 'high' . . . in contrast with a sound articulated towards the front of the mouth, which is 'low'". In our interpretation a back sound is also "low", when articulated further back than the velar/uvular area of elevation. Hence the gutturals *ḥāʾ* and *ʿayn* are also "low" and this may explain the absence of a supralinear dot in the Arabic characters representing these sounds, whereas *ḫāʾ* and *ġayn* are considered "high", and hence marked by a supralinear dot.

[8] For *ḥurūf ali-stiʿlāʾ*, cf. Bravmann, pp. 24; 30; Blanc, pp. 19–20, and lately Bakalla, pp. 144–145; Carter, p. 106 (Prof. G. Goldenberg has kindly called my attention to the last two references). As is shown below, the concept of "depression" was not alien to Sībawayhi (cf. Carter), who used the terms *tasafful* and *inḥidār* rather than *inḫifāḍ*.

[9] Sībawayhi, II, pp. 264–265.

kānati l-ḥurūfu mustaʿliyatan wa-kānati l-alifu tastaʿlī wa-qarubat mina l-alifi kāna l-ʿamalu min waǧhin wāḥidin aḫaffa ʿalayhim kamā anna l-ḥarfayni iḏā taqāraba mawḍiʿuhumā kāna rafʿu l-lisāni min mawḍiʿin wāḥidin aḫaffa ʿalayhim fa-yudġimūnahū . . . fa-iḏā kāna ḥarfun min hāḏihi l-ḥurūfi qabla l-alifi bi-ḥarfin wa-kāna maksūran fa-innahū lā yamnaʿu l-alifa mina l-imālati wa-laysa bi-manzilati mā yakūnu baʿda l-alifi li-annahum yaḍaʿūna alsinatahum fī mawḍiʿi l-mustaʿliyati ṯumma yuṣawwibūna alsinatahum fa-li-nḥidāru aḫaffu ʿalayhim mina l-iṣʿādi alā tarāhum qālū ṣabaqtu wa-ṣuqtu wa-ṣawīqun lammā kāna yaṯqulu ʿalayhim an yakūnu fī ḥāli taṣaffulin ṯumma yuṣʿidūna alsinatahum arādū an yakūnu fī ḥāli stiʿlāʾin wa-an lā yaʿmalū fī l-iṣʿādi baʿda t-taṣaffuli fa-arādū an taqaʿa alsinatuhum mawqiʿan wāḥidan. wa-qālū qasawtu wa-qistu fa-lam yuḥawwilū s-sīna li-annahumu nḥadarū fa-kāna li-nḥidāru aḫaffa ʿalayhim mina li-stiʿlāʾi min an yaṣʿadū min ḥāli t-taṣaffuli.

And the consonants which prevent the *imāla* (the deflection of the sound of *a* and *ā* towards that of *i* and *ī*)[10] are the following seven: *ṣ ḍ ṭ ẓ ġ q x* when one of these consonants precedes the *alif* (*ā*) and the *alif* follows it . . . and the reason these consonants prevent the *imāla* is because they are elevated consonants toward the upper palate, and the *alif*, when it moves out of its place, ascends towards the upper palate, so when it is together with these elevated consonants they overwhelm it, just as the *kasra* (*i*) overcomes it in *masāǧid* and its like, so since the consonants are elevated, and the *alif* is elevated, and they (the elevated consonants) are close to the *alif*, one mode of articulation is easier for them, in the same way as when the place of articulation of two consonants is close, lifting the tongue from one place (of articulation) is easier, so they assimilate it . . . and when one of these consonants (namely the elevated ones) occurs in the syllable preceding the syllable with the *alif* and it (the elevated consonant) is vocalized with the vowel *kasra* (*i*), then it does not prevent the *alif* from *imāla*, and it does not have the same status as (an elevated consonant) which occurs after the *alif*, because they put their tongue in the place (of articulation) of the elevated (consonants), then they lower their tongue (for the vowel *i*), and descending is easier for them than ascending. Do you not see them say *ṣabaqtu* and *ṣuqtu* and *ṣawīq* (with emphatic [*ṣ*] instead of the original [*s*]), because it is inconvenient for them to be in a state of depression, and then elevate their tongue, they want to be in a state of elevation (in the first place) and not to elevate after depression, so they want their tongue to pass one place of articulation (only). And they saw *qasawtu* and *qistu* without changing the [*s*] (into emphatic [*ṣ*]), because they descend (from elevated [*q*] to depressed

[10] For interpretations of the term *imāla* cf. Levin, pp. 174–176. It is interesting to note that in a previous chapter (II, p. 262) Sībawayhi says that the vowel *ḍamma* (*u*) prevents the *imāla* too, in contrast with *a* which does not prevent the *imāla*, e.g. *yakīluhā* versus *yaḍribahā*.

> [*ṣ*]), and descending is easier for them than elevation, namely easier than ascending after (being in) a state of depression.

Ibn al-Anbārī (577/1181) uses the terms elevation and depression to explain phonological interaction between consonants and vowels. The *imāla* is presented as a depression; the progress from a depressed sound toward an elevated one is described as ascending; and the vowel *i* weakens the elevation of the elevated consonant:[11]

> *in qāla qāʾilun mā l-imālatu? qīla an tanḥuwa bi-l-fatḥati naḥwa l-kasrati wa-bi-l-alifi naḥwa l-yāʾi. fa-in qīla fa-li-ma udḫilati l-imālatu l-kalāma? qīla ṭalaban li-t-tašākuli li-allā taḫtalifa l-aṣwātu fa-tatanāfara. fa-in qīla fa-mā yamnaʿu l-imālata? qīla ḥurūfu li-stiʿlāʾi wa-l-iṭbāqi wa-hiya ṣ-ṣādu wa-ḍ-ḍādu wa-ṭ-ṭāʾu wa-ẓ-ẓāʾu wa-l-ġaynu wa-l-ḫāʾu wa-l-qāfu fa-hāḏihi sabʿatu aḥrufin tamnaʿu l-imālata. fa-in qīla fa-li-mā manaʿat hāḏihi l-aḥrufu l-imālata? qīla li-anna hāḏihi l-aḥrufa tastaʿlī wa-tattaṣilu bi-l-ḥanaki l-aʿlā fa-taǧḏibu l-alifa ilā l-fatḥi wa-tamnaʿuhū mina t-tasaffuli bi-l-imālati. fa-in qīla fa-li-mā iḏā waqaʿat baʿda l-alifi maksūratan manaʿati l-imālata wa-iḏā waqaʿat maksūratan qablahā lam tamnaʿ? qīla innamā manaʿati l-imālata iḏā waqaʿat maksūratan baʿda l-alifi li-annahū yuʾaddī ilā t-taṣaʿʿudi baʿda li-nḥidāri li-anna l-imālata taqtaḍī li-nḥidāra wa-hāḏihi l-ḥurūfu taqtaḍī t-taṣaʿʿuda fa-law amalta hāhunā la-addā ḏālika ilā t-taṣaʿʿudi baʿda li-nḥidāri wa-ḏālika ṣaʿbun ṯaqīlun fa-li-ḏālika manaʿat mina l-imālati bi-ḫilāfi mā iḏā waqaʿat maksūratan qabla l-alifi fa-innahū lā yuʾaddī ilā ḏālika fa-innaka iḏā atayta bi-l-mustaʿlī maksūran aḍʿafta stiʿlāʾahū ṯumma iḏā amalta nḥadarta baʿda taṣaʿʿudin wa-li-nḥidāru baʿda t-taṣaʿʿudi sahlun ḫafīfun fa-bāna l-farqu baynahumā. fa-in qīla fa-hallā ǧāzati l-imālatu iḏā waqaʿat qabla l-alifi maftūḥatan fī naḥwi ṣāmitin wa-ḏālika nḥidārun baʿda taṣaʿʿudin? qīla li-anna l-ḥarfa l-mustaʿliya maftūḥun wa-l-ḥarfu l-mustaʿlī iḏā kāna maftūḥan zāda stiʿlāʾan fa-mtanaʿati l-imālatu bi-ḫilāfi mā iḏā kāna maksūran li-anna l-kasrata tuḍaʿʿifu stiʿlāʾahū fa-ṣārat sullaman ilā ǧawāzi l-imālati wa-lam yakun ǧawāzu l-imālati hunāka li-annahū nḥidārun baʿda taṣaʿʿudin faqaṭ wa-innamā kāna kaḏālika li-anna l-kasrata ḍaʿʿafati stiʿlāʾahū liʾannahū nḥidārun baʿda taṣaʿʿudin . . . fa-l-imālatu fī ḍarbi l-miṯāli maʿa l-kasrati bi-manzilati n-nuzūli min mawḍiʿin ʿālin bi-daraǧatin aw sullamin wa-l-imālatu maʿa ġayri l-kasrati bi-manzilati n-nuzūli min mawḍiʿin ʿālin bi-ġayri daraǧatin aw sullamin . . . fa-in qīla fa-li-mā ġalabati r-rāʾu l-maksūratu ḥarfa li-stiʿlāʾi naḥwa ṭārid wa-r-rāʾa l-maftūḥata naḥwa dāri l-qarāri wa-mā ašbaha ḏālika? qīla innamā ġalabati l-imālatu li-r-rāʾi l-maksūrati maʿa l-ḥarfi l-mustaʿlī li-anna l-kasrata fī r-rāʾi ktasabat takrīran fa-qawiyat li-anna l-ḥarakata taqwā bi-quwwati l-ḥarfi l-laḏī yataḥammaluhā fa-ṣārati l-kasratu fī-hā bi-manzilati kasratayni fa-ġalabat bi-tasaffulihā taṣaʿʿuda l-mustaʿlī wa-ka-mā ġalabati r-rāʾu l-maksūratu l-ḥarfa l-mustaʿliya fa-kaḏālika r-rāʾu l-maftūḥatu l-mušabbahatu bi-hī.*
>
> If anybody asks: what is *imāla*? The answer is: turning the *a* toward *i*

[11] Ibn al-Anbārī, pp. 160–161.

and *ā* toward *ī*. And if anybody asks: why does *imāla* occur in speech? The answer is: out of a wish for harmony to avoid disagreement between sounds. And if anybody asks: what can prevent the *imāla*? The answer is: the elevated and emphatic consonants, namely *ṣād, ḍād, ṭā', ẓā', ġayn, ḫā'* and *qāf*, these are seven consonants which prevent the *imāla*. And if anybody asks: why do these consonants prevent the *imāla*? The answer is: because these consonants elevate and are adjacent to the upper palate, so they draw the *alif* toward *a* and prevent it from descending by *imāla*. And if anybody asks: Why when they (i.e. the elevated consonants) occur after *alif* and are vocalized with *kasra* do they prevent the *imāla*, whereas when they precede it (i.e. the *alif*) and are vocalized with *kasra* they do not prevent (the *imāla*)? The answer is: The reason they prevent the *imāla* when they occur after *alif* and are vocalized with *kasra* is because (if *imāla* took place) it would cause an elevation following a depression, because the *imāla* requires descending, whereas these consonants require ascending, so if you pronounced here with *imāla*, it would cause ascending after descending, and this is hard and uneasy, and therefore they prevent the *imāla* (in this case) in contrast with the case when they (i.e. the elevated consonants) occur before *alif* and are vocalized with *kasra*, because this does not cause that (i.e. it does not cause elevation following a depression), because when you vocalize an elevated consonant with *kasra*, you weaken its elevation, and when you pronounce with *imāla* you descend after an elevation, and descending after an elevation is easy and pleasant, so the difference between the two cases is clear. And if anybody asks: So why is *imāla* not allowed when they (i.e. the elevated consonants) occur before the *alif* and are vocalized with *fatḥa*, for instance in *ṣāmit*, and this is descending after ascending? The answer is: because the elevated consonant is vocalized with *fatḥa*, and when the elevated consonant is vocalized with *fatḥa*, its elevation is increased, so the *imāla* is prevented, in contrast with the case when it (i.e. the elevated consonant) is vocalized with *kasra*, because the *kasra* weakens its elevation and becomes a means for permitting the *imāla*, whereas (without the *kasra*) there was no permissibility for *imāla*, because it is merely descending after an elevation; and the case is so (i.e. the *imāla* is permitted) only because the *kasra* weakens its elevation, because it is descending after an elevation . . . and *imāla* with *kasra* is like descending from a high place with steps or with a ladder, and *imāla* without a *kasra* is like descending from a high place without steps or a ladder . . . and if anybody asks: and why when *rā'* is vocalized with *kasra* does it get the upper hand over the elevated consonant, for instance in *ṭārid*, and over *rā'* vocalized with *fatḥa*, for instance in *dāru l-qarāri* etc.? The answer is: The *imāla* gains ascendancy because of the *rā'* vocalized by *kasra* which occurs with the elevated consonant, because the *kasra* with *rā'* gets a repetition and gains ascendancy, because a vowel gains its power in accordance with the power of the consonant which carries it, so the *kasra* with it (i.e. with *rā'*) obtains the status of two *kasras*, so

> it overcomes by its depression the elevation of the elevated consonant. And as the *rā'* vocalized with *kasra* overcomes the elevated consonant, so does the *rā'* vocalized with *fatḥa* which is similar to it (i.e. to the elevated consonant).

A similar concept of the terms elevation and depression is reflected in the following passage by as-Suyūṭī (911/1505), in which he explains the emphatic pronounciation of *s* in the vicinity of an elevated consonant. The consonant *s* loses its depression and assimilates to the elevated consonant through "covering" (*iṭbāq*) (i.e. post-velar co-articulation):[12]

> *kullu sīnin waqaʿat baʿdahā ʿaynun aw ġaynun aw ḫā'un aw qāfun aw ṭā'un ǧāza qalbuhā ṣādan miṯla yusāqūna wa-yuṣāqūna wa-ṣaqar wa-saqar wa-ṣaḫr wa-saḫr ... qāla wa-šarṭu hāḏā l-bābi an takūna s-sīnu mutaqaddimatan ʿalā hāḏihi l-ḥurūfi lā muta'aḫḫiratan baʿdahā wa-an takūna hāḏihi l-ḥurūfu muqāribatan lahā lā mutabāʿidatan ʿanhā wa-an takūna s-sīnu hiya l-aṣlu ... wa-innamā qalabūhā ṣādan maʿa hāḏihi l-ḥurūfi li-annahā ḥurūfun mustaʿliyatun wa-s-sīnu ḥarfun mutasaffilun fa-ṯaqula ʿalayhimi li-stiʿlā'u baʿda t-tasaffuli li-mā fīhi mina l-kulfati fa-iḏā taqaddama ḥarfu li-stiʿlā'i lam yukrah wuqūʿu s-sīni baʿdahū li-annahū ka-li-nḥidāri mina l-ʿuluwwi wa-ḏālika ḫafīfun lā kulfata fīhi.*
>
> Every *sīn* which is followed by *ʿayn* or *ġayn* or *ḫā'* or *qāf* or *ṭā'* may be transformed into *ṣād*, for instance *yusāqūna* and *yuṣāqūna, ṣaqar* and *saqar, ṣaḫr* and *saḫr* ... and the condition for this is that the *sīn* should precede these consonants (i.e. the elevated ones) not follow after them, and that these consonants should be close to it, not far away from it, and the *sīn* should be the original radical ... and the reason they change it (i.e. the *sīn*) into *ṣād* with these consonants is because they are elevated consonants and the *sīn* is a depressed consonant, so it is inconvenient for them to ascend after depression because of the discomfort involved in it, whereas when the elevated consonant precedes, one does not dislike the occurrence of *sīn* after it, because it is like descending from elevation, and this is easy and without discomfort.

In the following passage by Ibn Ǧinnī (392/1002), the Arabic consonants are classified into two categories, namely the elevated ones and the depressed ones. The first category comprises the seven consonants mentioned by Sībawayhi, and the category of the depressed includes all the other consonants. It is interesting to note that the counter term for *mustaʿliya* "elevated", is *munḫafiḍa*, "depressed". The

[12] In this interpretation of the term *iṭbāq* I follow Blanc, pp. 18–19. The following text is quoted from As-Suyūṭī, II, p. 469.

term *munḫafiḍa* is derived from the same root which refers to the *i* case, namely *ḫafḍ*. This root does not occur in Sībawayhi's book, and the latter uses the root *sfl* with the same meaning:[13]

> *wa-li-l-ḥurūfi nqisāmun āḫaru ilā li-stiʿlāʾi wa-li-nḫifāḍi. fa-l-mustaʿliyatu sabʿatun wa-hiya l-ḫāʾu wa-l-ġaynu wa-l-qāfu wa-ḍ-ḍādu wa-ṭ-ṭāʾu wa-ṣ-ṣādu wa-ẓ-ẓāʾu. wa-mā ʿadā hāḏihi l-ḥurūfa fa-munḫafiḍun. wa-maʿnā li-stiʿlāʾi an tataṣaʿʿada fī l-ḥanaki l-aʿlā. fa-arbaʿatun minhā fīhā maʿa stiʿlāʾihā iṭbāqun wa-qad ḏakarnāhā. wa-ammā l-ḫāʾu wa-l-ġaynu wa-l-qāfu fa-lā iṭbāqa fīhā maʿa stiʿlāʾihā.*
>
> And the consonants have another categorization, according to elevation and depression. The elevated are seven, namely *ḫāʾ* and *ġayn* and *qāf* and *ḍād* and *ṭāʾ* and *ṣād* and *ẓāʾ*. All the other consonants, except these, are depressed. The meaning of elevation is to ascend in the upper palate. Four of these have together with their elevation a "covering" (i.e. a velar/uvular co-articulation), and we have already mentioned them. As for *ḫāʾ* and *ġayn* and *qāf*, they do not have a "covering" together with their elevation.

The same classification of the consonants, using the same terms for elevation and depression, is found in az-Zamaḫšarī's (538/1144) *al-Mufaṣṣal*. In his interpretation, the terms elevation and depression refer to the movement of the tongue during articulation:[14]

> *wa-l-mustaʿliyatu l-arbaʿatu l-muṭbaqatu wa-l-ḫāʾu wa-l-ġaynu wa-l-qāfu wa-l-munḫafiḍatu mā ʿadāhā wa-li-stiʿlāʾu rtifāʿu l-lisāni ilā l-ḥanaki aṭbaqta aw lam tuṭbiq wa-li-nḫifaḍu bi-ḫilāfihī.*
>
> The elevated (consonants) are the four "covered" (i.e. emphatic) as well as *ḫāʾ*, *ġayn* and *qāf*. The depressed (consonants) are the rest. Elevation is raising the tongue toward the palate whether you "cover" or not, and depression is the opposite of it. In his commentary on the mysterious letters which open some of the *sūras*, Az-Zamaḫšarī mentions among the depressed consonants both back consonants such as *alif*, *hāʾ*, *ʿayn* and *ḥāʾ*, as well as front consonants such as *kāf*, *lām*, *mīm*, *rāʾ*, *yā*, *sīn*, *nūn*:[15]
>
> *wa-mina l-mustaʿliyati niṣfuhā l-qāfu wa-ṣ-ṣādu wa-ṭ-ṭāʾu wa-mina l-munḫafiḍati niṣfuhā l-alifu wa-l-lāmu wa-l-mīmu wa-r-rāʾu wa-l-kāfu wa l-hāʾu wa-l-yāʾu wa-l-ʿaynu wa-s-sīnu wa-l-ḥāʾu wa-n-nūnu.*
>
> Half of the elevated consonants occur (among the mysterious letters):

[13] Ibn Ǧinnī, I, p. 71.
[14] *al-Mufaṣṣal*, p. 395.
[15] *al-Kaššāf*, 2: 1.

qāf, ṣād and *ṭā'* and half of the depressed ones: *alif, lām, mīm, rā', kāf, hā', yā', 'ayn sīn, ḥā'* and *nūn.* al-Bayḍāwī (685/1286), in his commentary on the same issue, interprets elevation as ascending of the voice[16] in the upper palate:[17]

> ... *wa-mina l-musta'liyati wa-hiya l-latī yataṣa''adu ṣ-ṣawtu bi-hā fī l-ḥanaki l-a'lā wa-hiya sab'atun al-qāfu wa-ṣ-ṣādu wa-ṭ-ṭā'u wa-l-ḥā'u wa-l-ġaynu wa-ḍ-ḍādu wa-ẓ-ẓā'u niṣfuhā l-aqallu wa-mina l-bawāqī l-munḫafiḍati niṣfuhā.*

> ... and of the elevated, i.e. those in which the voice ascends in the upper palate, and they are seven, namely *qāf, ṣād, ṭā', ḥā', ġayn, ḍād* and *ẓā'*, of these the smaller half (i.e. three out of the seven elevated consonants occur among the mysterious letters), and of the rest, the depressed consonants, half (occur among the mysterious letters).

The concept that depression is backward and forward from the velar/uvular area of elevation is also reflected in the introduction of al-Ḫafāǧī (466/1074) to his book *Sirr al-faṣāḥa.*[18] The consonants *ġayn* and *ḥā'* are considered above *'ayn* and *ḥā'*, and *kāf* is considered lower than *qāf*:

> *wa-za'ama abū l-ḥasani l-aḫfašu anna l-hā'a ma'a l-alifi lā qablahā wa-lā ba'dahā ṯumma yalīhi min wasaṭi l-ḥalqi maḫraǧu l-'ayni wa-l-ḥā'i ṯumma min fawqi ḏālika ma'a awwali l-fami maḫraǧu l-ġayni wa-l-ḫā'i ṯumma min aqṣā l-lisāni maḫraǧu l-qāfi wa-min asfali ḏālika wa-adnā ilā muqaddami l-fami maḫraǧu l-kāfi.*

> Abū l-Ḥasan al-Aḫfaš claimed that the *hā'* is (articulated) together (i.e. in the same place) with the *alif*, not before it and not after it; and follows it from the middle of the throat, the place of articulation of the *'ayn* and the *ḥā'*; then above it at the beginning of the mouth is the articulation of *ġayn* and *ḫā'*; then from the root of the tongue is the articulation of *qāf*, and below it and closer to the front part of the mouth is the articulation of *kāf*.

The notions of elevation and depression reflected in the passages above can clarify the following two passages. Their authors mention the terms elevation and depression with regard to the vowels *u* and *i* respectively, with no explicit interpretation. In view of the recurring concept of elevation and depression, it seems plausible to interpret these terms in these contexts as ascendance of the active articulator

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[16] For the term *ṣawt* "voice" cf. Bravmann, pp. 5–7. For the concepts of "breath" and "voice" in Indian phonetics cf. Allen, pp. 37–39; 59–60.

[17] Al-Bayḍāwī, 2: 1.

[18] Al-Ḫafāǧī, p. 64.

toward the elevated place of articulation (i.e. velar/uvular area) with the vowel *u*, and descent of the active articulator from that area of elevation toward the area of depression (in this context forward) with the vowel *i*. The first passage is by Az-Zağğāğī (337/948) and it runs as following:[19]

> *fa-nasabū r-rafʿa kullahū ilā ḥarakati r-rafʿi li-anna l-mutakallima bi-l-kalimati l-maḍmūmati yarfaʿu ḥanakahū l-asfala ilā l-aʿlā wa-yağmaʿu bayna šafatayhi ... wa-man sammāhu minhum wa-mina l-kūfiyyīna ḫafḍan fa-innahum fassarūhu naḥwa tafsīri r-rafʿi wa-n-naṣbi fa-qālū li-nḫifāḍi l-ḥanaki l-asfali ʿinda n-nuṭqi bi-hī wa-maylihī ilā iḥdā l-ğihatayni.*

> ... and they attributed the whole *rafʿ* case to the ascending vowel, because one who pronounces a word with *ḍamma* raises his lower jaw upward (i.e. toward the place of elevation) and brings his lips together ... and those of them (i.e. of the Baṣrīs) and of the Kūfīs who called it (i.e. the genitive case) *ḫafḍ*, they interpreted it in accordance with the interpretation of *rafʿ* and *naṣb* (i.e. along phonetic lines), and said: because the lower jaw descends at the time of its articulation (i.e. moves from the velar/uvular place of elevation forward toward the place of depression), and inclines toward one of the two directions (i.e. toward the direction of depression).

It is interesting to note that Az-Zağğāğī uses here the term *mayl* "inclination" with regard to *i*, which is derived from the same root of *imāla* "inclination" (of *ā/a* toward *ī/i* respectively). The same term occurs also in the following passage by Ibn Sīnā (428/1037):[20]

> *wa-l-wāwu l-muṣawwitatu wa-uḫtuhā ḍ-ḍammatu fa-aẓunnu anna maḫrağahā maʿa iṭlāqi l-hawāʾi maʿa adnā taḍyīqin li-l-maḫraği wa-maylin bi-hī salisin ilā fawqu wa-l-yāʾu l-muṣawwitatu wa-uḫtuhā l-kasratu fa-aẓunnu anna maḫrağahā min iṭlāqi l-hawāʾi min adnā taḍyīqin li-l-maḫraği wa-maylin bi-hī salisin ilā asfala.*

> And the vocalic *wāw* and its sister the *ḍamma*, I think that their articulation is (done) through releasing of the air-stream simultaneously with a slightest narrowing of the place of articulation and an easy inclination of it upward (i.e. inclination of the place of articulation toward the area of elevation). And the vocalic *yāʾ* and its sister the *kasra*, I think that their articulation is (done) through releasing of the air-stream through a slightest narrowing of the place of articulation and an easy inclination of it downward (i.e. inclination of the place of articulation

[19] Az-Zağğāğī, p. 93.
[20] Ibn Sīnā, pp. 13–14; Eldar, pp. 45–48.

toward the area of depression).[21]

Before concluding this article I would like to note that, although the perception presented above is the main one advocated by Arab grammarians, reflections of another perception are also scattered in their writings. According to this perception the process of the air-stream on its way out is viewed as ascending, hence a higher sound is a more forward one.[22] This view is reflected in Sībawayhi's book when he says that *wāw* and *yā'* are ascending sounds, whereas *alif* is considered a descending one. While *alif* is considered low according to the other theory too (as it is articulated back from the area of elevation), the semi-vowels *wāw* and *yā'* are considered in that theory to be among the depressed sounds (as they are articulated forward from the area of elevation). Sībawayhi's words run as following:[23]

> *wa-ḏālika iḏā kānati l-hamzatu awi l-hā'u awi l-ʿaynu awi l-ḥā'u awi l-ġaynu awi l-ḫā'u lāman aw ʿaynan . . . wa-innamā fataḥū hāḏihi l-ḥurūfa li-annahā safalat fī l-ḥalqi fa-karihū an yatanāwalū ḥarakata mā qablahā bi-ḥarakati mā rtafaʿa mina l-ḥurūfi fa-ǧaʿalū ḥarakatahā mina l-ḥarfi l-laḏī fī ḥayyizihā wa-huwa l-alifu wa-innamā l-ḥarakatu mina l-alifi wa-l-yā'i wa-l-wāwi wa-kaḏālika ḥarrakūhunna iḏ kunna ʿaynātin wa-lam yufʿal hāḏā bi-mā huwa min mawḍiʿi l-wāwi wa-l-yā'i li-annahumā mina l-ḥurūfi l-latī rtafaʿat wa-l-ḥurūfu l-murtafiʿatu ḥayyizun ʿalā ḥiddatin fa-innamā tatanāwalu li-l-murtafiʿi ḥarakatan min murtafiʿin wa-kuriha an yutanāwala li-l-laḏī qad safala ḥarakatun min hāḏā l-ḥayyizi . . . wa-hāḏā fī l-hamzi aqallu li-anna l-hamza aqṣā l-ḥurūfi wa-ašadduhā sufūlan wa-kaḏālika l-hā'u li-annahū laysa fī s-sittati l-aḥrufi aqrabu ilā l-hamzi minhā wa-innamā l-alifu baynahumā . . . wa-l-aṣlu fī hāḏayni l-ḥarfayni aǧdaru an yakūna yaʿnī l-ḫā'i wa-l-ġayni li-annahumā ašaddu s-sittati rtifāʿan.*

and this happens (i.e. the vocalization of the second radical of the verb

[21] According to Eldar's interpretation of this passage, the air-stream takes on an upward or downward inclination on its way out. In interpreting thus, one must assume that the enclitic pronoun *bi-hī* refers to the noun *al-hawā'* "the air". I would rather refer it to the noun *maḫraǧ* "place of articulation", which immediately precedes this pronoun. This interpretation is more plausible also because it is more compatible with the phonetic theory of the Arab grammarians. Moreover, in the other version of Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla* (ed. Ḫānlarī, p. 20), the words upward/downward explicitly refer to the place of articulation, and not to the air-stream which is not mentioned at all in this context: *wa-l-wāwāni maḫraǧuhumā maʿa adnā muzāḥamatin wa-tadyīqin li-š-šafatayni wa-ʿtimādin fī l-iḫrāǧi ʿalā mā yalī fawqu ʿtimādan yasīran; wa-l-yā'āni takūnu l-muzāḥamatu fīhimā bi-li-ʿtimādi ʿalā mā yalī asfala qalīlan.*

[22] Cf. Revell, pp. 189–190, who attributes this concept to Al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad and assumes an Indian influence for this theory.

[23] Sībawayhi, II, pp. 252–253.

in the prefix conjugation with *a*) when one of the consonants *hamza* or *hā'* or *'ayn* or *ḥā'* or *ġayn* or *ḫā'* are the third radical or the second radical... and the reason they vocalize these consonants with *a* is because they are low in the throat, so they decline to vocalize the (syllable) which precedes it with a vowel of an elevated consonant,[24] so they vocalize it with a vowel which is homorganic with the sound which is within their realm, namely the *alif*... for the vowels are related to *alif*, *yā'* and *wāw* (i.e. the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* respectively). And thus they vocalize them when they are the second radical (i.e. vocalize the consonants with the vowel *a*), and they do not do it with vowels which are homorganic with *wāw* and *yā'* (i.e. *u* and *i* respectively), because both of them (i.e. *wāw* and *yā'*) are of the ascending consonants, and the ascending consonants are a distinctive category, and for an ascending (consonant) you take only a vowel which is derived from an ascending (semi-vowel, namely *i* or *u*), and one does not like to take for a descending consonant a vowel which belongs to this category (i.e. the ascending vowels, and therefore the gutturals are vocalized with *a*, which is also descending)... and this (i.e. vocalization of the second radical of the verb in the prefix conjugation with the vowels *i* or *u*) is rarer with *hamz* because the *hamz* is the most extreme and most depressed consonant, and so is the *hā'*, because there is no consonant among the six (gutturals) which is closer than it to the *hamz*, and only the *alif* is between them (i.e. between the *hamza* and the *hā'*)... and the basic rule is more appropriate with regard to these two consonants, namely the *ḫā'* and the *ġayn*, because they are the most elevated among the six.[25]

The concept that a sound which is articulated further forward is higher is also reflected in the words attributed to al-Layṯ b. al-Muẓaffar concerning the order of the letters in al-Ḫalīl's *Kitāb al-'ayn*:[26]

fa-waǧada l-'ayna aqṣāhā fī l-ḥalqi wa-adḫalahā fa-ǧa'ala awwala l-kitābi l-'ayna ṯumma mā qaruba maḫraǧuhū min-hā ba'da l-'ayni l-arfa'a fa-l-arfa'a ḥattā atā 'alā āḫiri l-ḥurūfi.

And he found the *'ayn* the most extreme in the throat and the most

[24] Namely the vowels *i* or *u*, which are derived from *yā'* and *wāw* respectively. According to the concept reflected here, *yā'* and *wāw* are "high", as they are further forward than *alif* and *fatḥa*. The concept presented here is in contrast with the one reflected in Sībawayhi's discussion of the *imāla* (see pp. 3–4 above), in which he describes the vowel *i* as depressed.

[25] The consonants *ḫā'* and *ġayn* are also considered elevated according to the other theory presented above, as they must belong to the seven consonants called *al-ḥurūf al-musta'liya* "the ascending consonants". Here, however, they are compared with the four gutturals, and are presented as higher, i.e. more frontal.

[26] *Lisān al-'Arab*, Introduction, Vol. I, pp. 13–14.

> inner one, so he began his book with *ʿayn*, then the letters following the *ʿayn* which are close to it in articulation, each time a higher one, until he finished with the last letter.

The same perception of elevation is reflected in Ibn Ǧinnī's description of the vowels. He classifies the vowels according to their homorganic vowel-letters, hence he considers the vowel *a* a guttural, the vowel *i* a palatal (therefore an intermediate vowel), and the vowel *u* a labial (therefore frontal). This classification differs from the one we have seen above, and it is interesting to note that the progress toward the front part of the mouth and the lips is called *taṣaʿʿud* "ascending", which implies here a different meaning to the one we have seen above[27]:

> *fa-l-ǧawābu fī ḏālika anna l-fatḥata awwalu l-ḥarakāti wa-adḫaluhā fī l-ḥalqi wa-l-kasrata baʿdahā wa-ḍ-ḍammata baʿda l-kasrati, fa-iḏā badaʾta bi-l-fatḥati ua-taṣaʿʿadta taṭlubu ṣadra l-fami wa-š-šafatayni ǧtāzat fī murūrihā bi-maḫraǧi l-yāʾi wa-l-wāwi fa-ǧāza an tušimmahā šayʾan mina l-kasrati awi ḍ-ḍammati li-taṭarruqihā iyyāhumā.*

> and the answer to that (namely why any vowel can be colored with a shade of *kasra* or *ḍamma*, but none of them can be colored with a shade of *fatḥa*) is that the *fatḥa* is the first among the vowels and the innermost in the throat, and the *kasra* is after it; and the *ḍamma* is after the *kasra*, so if you begin with the *fatḥa* and you ascend looking for the front part of the mouth and the lips, it (i.e the *fatḥa*) passes on its way upon the place of articulation of the *yāʾ* and the *wāw*, so you can color it with a shade of *kasra* or *ḍamma*, because it (i.e. the fatḥa) reaches them (i.e. the place of articulation of the *kasra* and *ḍamma*).

The same concept recurs again in the commentary of Ibn Yaʿīš (643/1245) on Az-Zamaḫšarī's *al-Mufaṣṣal*. In this passage Ibn Yaʿīš compares the consonants *qāf* and *kāf* and refers to the latter as higher and closer to the front part of the mouth:[28]

> *wa-l-qāfu wa-l-kāfu fī ḥayyizin wāḥidin fa-l-kāfu arfaʿu mina l-qāfi wa-adnā ilā muqaddami l-fami.*

> The *qāf* and the *kāf* belong to the same category, but the *kāf* is higher than the *qāf* and closer to the front part of the mouth.

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[27] Ibn Ǧinnī, pp. 60–61. This concept is in contrast with the one reflected in Ibn Ǧinnī's classification of the consonants (see pp. 188–189 above).

[28] Ibn Yaʿīš, IX, p. 123.

Conclusion

In the present paper we have seen two perceptions of medieval Arab grammarians concerning elevation and depression. The one attributes elevation to the velar/uvular place of articulation, claiming that all the other sounds which are articulated backward or forward from that area are depressed. The second attitude attributes elevation to the progress forward toward the frontal part of the mouth. It is interesting to note that both perceptions are sometimes reflected in the writings of the same author (e.g. Sībawayhi and Ibn Ǧinnī).

The first perception of elevation and depression (which relates these terms to the velar/uvular area of elevation) is applied in descriptions of phonological harmony and assimilation, and is reflected in the terms denoting the Arab case-endings. This concept was also accepted by medieval Hebrew grammarians for classification of the Hebrew vowels into *rōm* "elevation" and *maṭṭā* "depression".

An interesting question, which is beyond the scope of the present article, is whether this concept of elevation and depression is compatible with the one reflected in the old Hebrew Masora system of distinguishing between homographs by supralinear (*millǝʿel*) and sublinear (*millǝraʿ*) dots, and the Syrian system of diacritical points (cf. Revell, pp. 187–188). Finally, the modification presented here of Revell's interpretation of "high" and "low" can explain the supralinear dot in Arabic *ḫāʾ* and *ġayn* (which are classified among the elevated consonants (*al-ḥurūf al-mustaʿliya*)), and the absence of diacritical dots in *ḥāʾ* and *ʿayn* (which are classified among the depressed consonants (*al-ḥurūf al-munḫafiḍa*)).

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11

TREATISE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE *ḌĀD*

Introduction

The treatise presented here deals with the pronunciation of the Arabic phoneme /ḍ/ represented in writing by the letter *ḍād*. This sound was regarded by the Arabs as the most characteristic of their language, a sound not present in any other language, which is why Arabic was sometimes called *luġat aḍ-ḍād*. The earliest description of the pronunciation of the *ḍād* is found in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, who states (*Kitāb* II, 405.8–9; cf. Al-Nassir 1983: 44–46):

> Between the first part of the side of the tongue and the adjacent molars is the place of articulation of the *ḍād* (*wa-min bayna ʾawwal ḥāfat al-lisān wa-mā yalīhi min al-ʾaḍrās muḫraǧ aḍ-ḍād*)

Obviously, this description aims at a sound that differs considerably from the usual realisation of /ḍ/ in contemporary Arabic, which is usually an emphatic voiced dental plosive, i.e. [ḍ].

Many explanations have been given of this discrepancy. According to Roman (1983: I, 162–206) its actual nature was that of a voiced emphatic alveopalatal, somewhat similar to the Polish *ż*. Elsewhere, I have indicated (Versteegh 1999) that the most probable interpretation is the one already given by Cantineau (1960: 55), namely that the *ḍād* was realised as a lateral or lateralised voiced fricative, i.e. [ḍl]. Apart from a few traces in Arabic loanwords in Romance languages, in Yoruba, and in Malay and a few doubtful reports of modern dialects in South Arabia (Daṯīna), no traces have been preserved of this reconstructed pronunciation. In most Arabic dialects /ḍ/ merged with another phoneme, /ḏ̣/, represented by the letter *ẓāʾ*, the reflex being either /ḏ̣/ in Bedouin dialects, or /ḍ/ in sedentary dialects. In loanwords from Classical Arabic in the modern vernaculars the reflex of /ḏ̣/ is often /ẓ/, which also functions as the learned realisation of ḏ̣, as may be seen also in the usual transcription of the letter *ẓāʾ*.

Sībawayhi also describes an allophone of the correct *ḍād*, which he calls the *ḍād ḍaʿīfa* (*Kitāb* II, 404.23–405.4). It is not entirely clear how this variant was realised; according to some, it was produced by lateral friction on one side of the tongue, rather than on both as with the correct *ḍād*. According to others (Al-Nassir 1993: 45), it was realised somewhat like /ḏ̣/ and thus indicated the shift of the *ḍād* to the modern realisation.

The realisation of *ḍād* as /ḍ/ could not have taken place without a preceding shift of another phoneme, represented by the Arabic letter *ṭāʾ*, nowadays realised as /ṭ/, but which was probably rendered as a voiced rather than a voiceless plosive, i.e. /ḍ/, at least if we follow the description by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* II, 406.23.–24):

> If it were not for emphaticness the /ṭ/ would become /d/ and the /ṣ/ would become /s/ and the /ḏ̣/ would become /ḏ/ and the *ḍād* would disappear from speech, since there is no other sound in its place of articulation (*wa-lawlā l-ʾiṭbāq la-ṣārat aṭ-ṭaʾ dālan wa-ṣ-ṣād sīnan wa-ḏ̣-ḏ̣āʾ ḏālan wa-la-ḫarağat aḍ-ḍād min al-kalām li-ʾannahu laysa šayʾun min mawḍiʿihā ġayruhā*)

This passage is also very useful for understanding the nature of the *ḍād*, since it makes clear that this phoneme did not stand in opposition to any other phoneme, but was indeed *sui generis*.

The shift in pronunciation and the subsequent merger of *ḍād* and *ḏ̣āʾ* made it difficult to distinguish between these two phonemes in writing. Hence the considerable number of treatises dedicated to the distinction in writing between these two phonemes, which were often confused by semi-literates. But since the 'correct' pronunciation of the *ḏād* had disappeared it also became difficult for grammarians and specialists in the recitation of the *Qurʾān* (*tağwīd*) to know how to realise it. It became increasingly difficult for them to understand the discrepancy between what they heard around them and the description by Sībawayhi which clearly described something else.

In the present treatise, *Risāla fī kayfiyyat an-nuṭq bi-ḍ-ḍād*, al-Manṣūrī, a grammarian from the 12th/18th century, vehemently opposes what he regards as incorrect interpretations by fellow grammarians, who advocated a realisation of the *ḍād* as either [ḍ] or [ḏ̣]. It is not entirely clear which pronunciation al-Manṣūrī himself had in mind. He claims to have heard the correct pronunciation in the Hiğāz and in Egypt and asserts that expert readers followed the correct pronunciation, which in his view was identical with Sībawayhi's descrip-

tion. It does not sound very probable that there were still people around who pronounced the *ḍād* lateralised, but on the other hand there is one report about a contemporary Mauritanian reading tradition of the *Qur'ān* in which the *ḍād* is realised as an emphatic lateral (Cohen 1963: 11, n. 1; cf. Versteegh 1999: 276); another report mentions something similar for Qur'ānic recitation in Yemen (Al-Nassir 1993: 45).

The treatise that is presented here was edited and translated with a summary of the contents and an introduction by Naphtali Kinberg shortly before he died in 1997. Kinberg also edited a few related treatises, among them the *Radd al-'ilḥād fī n-nuṭq bi-ḍ-ḍād* by the same author al-Manṣūrī, which has been edited in the meantime by Milād Zalīha (1997). At the request of Leah Kinberg I have edited Kinberg's edition of the *Risāla fī kayfiyyat an-nuṭq bi-ḍ-ḍād*. The text has been left mostly as it was written by Kinberg; I have corrected a few obvious mistakes, added to the bibliographical references and supplied one lacuna in the translation (indicated between square brackets with the abbreviation KV).

Kees Versteegh

IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHOR AND THE TITLE

Our manuscript was first shown to me by Prof. Hans Daiber (Daiber Collection II, Ms. 100); it is now in the possession of The Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo. It lacks the title page with the title and the author's name. Hence our identification was at first based on the information supplied by Dobraca (1963: 131–134); later we received from The Ghazi Husrav-Bey Library in Sarajevo a photocopy of the manuscript, and thus the identification of the manuscript has become final.

According to Dobraca, The Ghazi Husrav-Bey Library in Sarajevo has a collection of 10 manuscripts dedicated to the pronunciation of *ḍād*, among them one by ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Manṣūrī (d. 1134/1722) (p. 133, #8), entitled *Risāla fī kayfiyyat an-nuṭq bi-ḍ-ḍād*, which is a response to the treatise by Ibn Ġānim (al-Maqdisī) (1004/1595–6), *Buġyat al-murtād li-taṣḥīḥ aḍ-ḍād* (Dobraca 1963: 131, #2; Kaḥḥāla II/503). Al-Manṣūrī's treatise starts exactly like our manuscript: "Praise be to God, and may God bless His Prophet and His chosen one."

(*al-ḥamdu lillāhi wa-ṣallā llāhu ʿalā nabiyyihi wa-muṣṭafāhu*).

The identification of the author as ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Manṣūrī suits the fact that several times in the *Risāla* he harshly attacks al-Marʿašī, i.e., Muḥammad b. ʿAbī Bakr al-Marʿašī Sāğiqlīzādeh (d. 1150/1737–38). Al-Marʿašī is the author of one of the treatises mentioned in the Sarajevo Catalogue: *Risāla fī kayfiyyat ʾadāʾ aḍ-ḍād al-muʿğama* (no. 3 in that collection). He also wrote a work on *tağwīd*, *Ğahd al-muqill*. Al-Marʿašī is a contemporary of al-Manṣūrī, although the former died some 16 years later. Our manuscript contains several quotations from both works of al-Marʿašī (most of these quotations are also adduced in al-Ḥamad [1986], who quotes directly from other manuscripts of al-Marʿašī's works).

We learn from the biography of ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Manṣūrī in Kaḥḥāla (1993: II, 447–8), that he was of Egyptian origin, a fact which explains his great effort to defend the Egyptians. He also lived in Istanbul, hence it is quite possible that he visited Belgrade, as he attests in his treatise. He was a *Qurʾān* reader and a grammarian, and he also wrote another treatise dedicated to the pronunciation of *ḍād*, *Radd al-ʾilḥād fī nuṭq aḍ-ḍād* (no. 10 in the Sarajevo collection).

I mentioned earlier that our author starts his treatise by testifying that after having finished the introduction (perhaps the introduction in al-Marʿašī's treatise, which contains three parts: *muqaddima, maqṣid, ḫātima*) he received a treatise ascribed to ʿAlī b. Ġānim al-Maqdisī (d. 1004/1595–6), *Buġyat al-Murtād li-taṣḥīḥ aḍ-ḍād* "The explorer's wish to correct the *ḍād*". Our author harshly rejects the arguments presented in the latter treatise, and even refuses to accept its ascription to ʿAlī b. Ġānim al-Maqdisī. Later in his treatise, our author also harshly attacks the arguments which occur in another treatise written by al-Marʿašī. It seems that our author first intended to argue with the treatise of al-Marʿašī, but after receiving the treatise of al-Maqdisī, he decided to argue with both.

This treatise represents the end of a tradition of approximately 1,000 years of phonetic descriptions. It aims to describe the 'true' and 'correct' way of pronouncing the consonant *ḍād*. In so doing the author argues with two other authors: Ibn Ġānim (al-Maqdisī), and Muḥammad b. ʾAbī Bakr al-Marʿašī. Both had dedicated treatises to the same topic, but our author strongly disagrees with their phonetic representation.

Structure of the Treatise

1. *An attack against a treatise ascribed to Ibn Ġānim (al-Maqdisī) (d. 1004/1595–6).—folios 1a–11b*

1.1 The latter author (al-Maqdisī) argues that some people pronounce the *ḍād* mingled with emphatic *dāl* and unpointed *ṭa'* (folio 2a). The author of our treatise totally rejects this claim, stressing that the educated people pronounce a pure *ḍād*, not mingled with either *dāl* or *ṭā'*, nor between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣ā'*. He further argues that there is no emphatic *dāl* in Arabic, as can be learned from the fact that *Qur'ān* readers do not warn against such a pronunciation.

1.2 Al-Maqdisī also argues that the approved pronunciation of *ḍād* is similar to *ḏ̣ā'* (folio 2b). Our author rejects this claim, because if one were to accept it, the number of Arabic consonants would be increased to a total of 30, whereas it is the consensus among Arabic linguists that Arabic consonants do not exceed 29 (following Sībawayhi [d. 180/796–7], *Kitāb* II, 404.12ff.). Our author further accuses Ibn Ġānim (al-Maqdisī) of false innovations, because he had no master to learn from, and he who learns without a master, is easily attracted to incorrect assumptions and pretensions.

1.3 Al-Maqdisī argues that *ḍād* does not exist in Turkish, but is unique to Arabic, whereas the *ḍād* which he considers the correct one is established in Turkish (folio 3a). Our author argues that the correct *ḍād* is unique to the Arabs, but with practice other nations have learned how to pronounce it.

1.4 Al-Maqdisī now turns to discuss some phonetic features which are traditionally associated with the consonant *ḍād*:

> *at-tafaššī* "spreading"—(folio 3b); this feature refers to the extension of the place of articulation (cf. Steiner 1977: 66, n. 11; cf. also Bravmann 1934: 50), which is related to *intišār, inbisāṭ, infirāš, istiṭāla* (for the latter cf. Bravmann 1934: 53–4; Steiner 1977: 60ff.). another feature which characterizes *ḍād* is *nafḫ* "blowing of air from the mouth". This characterizes the correct pronunciation of *ḍād*, together with other consonants known as "saturated" (*al-ḥurūf al-mušraba*), namely *ḏāl, ḏ̣ā', zāy*. The pronunciation of these consonants is characterized by a quasi-blowing which emanates when they occur in a pause.

1.5 Al-Maqdisī also claims that the Arabs rhyme *ḍād* with *ḏ̣ā'* (folio 4a), and this proves that the pronunciation of these two consonants is close. Our author rejects this claim by quoting other examples

which exhibit the rhyming of two consonants which differ in their phonetic features, e.g. *r* and *b*.

1.6 In many repeated paragraphs our author strongly denies the claim that the Egyptians pronounce *ḍād* mingled with an emphatic *ṭā'*. He is ready to admit that perhaps some ignorant Egyptians pronounce it this way, but not their expert *Qur'ān* readers.

1.7 Our author then turns to attack the words of al-Marʿašī (folios 11b-15b), to whom the Devil gave the idea of "shaking the *ḍād* with his tongue", making a pun on the root of his name *r-ʿ-š* "to shake". Our author rejects al-Marʿašī's claim that the correct pronunciation of *ḍād* is similar to *ḏ̣ā'*, and also rejects his claims concerning certain aspects of the pronunciation of *rā'* and *ṭā'* (folio 12bff.).

1.8 The treatise ends with three verses praising adherence to tradition and condemning innovations which deviate from the tradition.

1.9 The colophon contains blessings to the Prophet, his family, and those who follow his way, and the name of the copyist (? *ḥarrarahu*): 'Aḥmad b. 'Abī Bakr. The colophon does not specify the date nor the place of copying.

2. *The arguments which the author tries to refute*

2.1 "People pronounce the *ḍād* mingled with an emphatic *dāl* and *ṭā'*". Our author argues that the experts pronounce a pure *ḍād*, without mingling it. There is no emphatic *dāl* in Arabic. Sometimes ignorant people pronounce *dāl* as an emphatic, but this is a mistake, just as is their pronunciation of *ḥalāl* as *ḥalāl*.

2.2 "The correct pronunciation of *ḍād* is similar to that of *ṭā'*". This argument assumes the existence of a consonant between *ḍād* and *ṭā'* so that the number of Arabic consonants reaches 30, whereas the consensus among Arabic linguists (following Sībawayhi) is that the total number of Arabic consonants is 29. The claim has no tradition to rely on, while there is an explicit tradition that one must not pronounce *ḍād* in between *dāl* and *ṭā'*, but rather as a pure *ḍād*, different from *ṭā'*.

2.3 "The scholars made lists of words which are pronounced with *ḍād* and those which are pronounced with *ḏ̣ā'*". This does not prove al-Maqdisī's claim, since in writing these two consonants are similar.

2.4 "It is accepted that *ḍād* exists only in Arabic, but in fact the 'correct' *ḍād* exists in Turkish". The correct *ḍād* as transmitted from

one generation to another exists only in Arabic; with practice the people of Byzantium (*'ahl ar-Rūm*) with whom we are associated learn how to pronounce it, each one according to his skills.

2.5 "The majority of the Egyptians pronounce the *ḍād* as a consonant which is similar to an emphatic *dāl* and *ṭā'*".

It may be that the author met some ignorant Egyptians who pronounced it in the way he describes, hence he ascribed this pronunciation to the majority of the Egyptians.

2.6 "The experts on Islamic law discussed the fate of those who do not distinguish between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣ā'*, a fact that proves the existence of a similarity in the pronunciation of the two consonants". This is not a reason to neglect the correct pronunciation of *ḍād* in favor of a faulty pronunciation. Its pronunciation is that of expert *Qur'ān* readers who know how to pronounce it properly.

2.7 "One scholar described the *ḍād* by the feature of "spreading" (*at-tafaššī*), whereas the (Egyptian) pronunciation of *ḍād* has no spreading". 'Spreading' refers to the place of articulation. The place of articulation of the *šīn* spreads, until it seems that it reaches that of *ṭā'*. Some people ascribed this feature also to *ḍād*, because of the extension of its place of articulation, which reaches that of *lām*.

2.8 "Among the features characteristic of *ḍād* is the feature of blowing of breath (*nafḫ*), and this happens only when pronouncing the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏ̣ā'*". 'Blowing of breath' means exhaling some air from the mouth when the sound occurs in a pause. In liaison this blowing disappears. In the pronunciation of *ḍād* there is a quasi-blowing and not a real one. The *ḍād* belongs to the group of consonants known as "the saturated consonants" (*al-ḥurūf al-mušraba*), together with *ḏ̣ā'*, *ḏāl*, *zā'*. The blowing that takes place with these consonants is weaker than the blowing that takes place in pronouncing the "restless ones" (*al-muqalqala*).

2.9 "The *ḍād* rhymes with the *ḏ̣ā'*, and this proves the similarity between the two sounds". There are cases where two similar sounds rhyme with each other (*'ikfā'*), and other cases in which two different sounds rhyme, e.g. *rū/bū* (*'iǧāza*).

2.10 "According to transmitted knowledge, in the pronunciation of *ḍād* there is extension (*istiṭāla*) of the place of articulation, whereas in pronouncing the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* there is no extension". It is a calumny to ascribe to the Egyptian *Qur'ān* readers the pronunciation of *ḍād* similar to *ṭā'*. 'Extension' means from the beginning of the side of the tongue until its end (in other words the whole

of the side of the tongue participates in its pronunciation). 'Extension' joins other features of *ḍād*, namely "voicing" (*ǧahr*), "covering" (*ʾiṭbāq*), "elevation" (*istiʿlāʾ*). The *ḍād* is characterized by these features more than the *ṭāʾ*. 'Extension' characterizes the first phase of pronouncing the *ḍād*, before the phase of 'covering', in which the air-stream is restricted between the velar and the place of articulation.

2.11 "Among the features ascribed to *ḍād* is the feature of "laxity" (*raḫāwa*) in the contact between the articulators [in other words it is a fricative consonant]". This feature allows a flow of air stream when this consonant is quiescent with no vowel. According to aš-Šāṭibī the whispered consonants are ten: *ḥ, ṯ, t, k, s, f, š, ḫ, ṣ, h.* The "strong" (*šadīda*), i.e., the plosive ones, are *ʾ, ǧ, d, ṭ, k, q, t, b.* The consonants *ʿ, m, r, n, l* are in between the fricatives and the plosives. The letters of prolongation *ʾalif, w, y* complete the fricatives. According to Sībawayhi and others, the letters of prolongation are also between the fricatives and the plosives. According to ar-Raḍī, in these eight sounds the airstream stops when they are pronounced without a vowel, but for certain reasons the airstream flows out from other places.

2.12 "It was said that pronouncing the *ḍād* is hard for the tongue, whereas pronouncing the *ḍād* like *ṭāʾ* involves no difficulty whatsoever". The claim that the Egyptians pronounce the *ḍād* like *ṭāʾ* is a calumny. The correct pronunciation of *ḍād* is hard for the inhabitants of Syria and Byzantium, according to what the author has seen in Belgrade and in the surrounding cities. On the other hand the *Qurʾān* experts in Egypt and in Constantinople practised the pronunciation of the correct *ḍād* until it became natural for them.

2.13 "The place of articulation that is assigned to the *ḍād* suits the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏ̣āʾ*, and not that which is similar to *ṭāʾ*". The pronunciation of *ḍād* as *ṭāʾ* is a calumny which al-Maqdisī made up. The place of articulation of the pure and correct *ḍād* is at the side of the tongue. The place of articulation of the incorrect *ḍād* is at the tip of the tongue.

2.14 "The claim of those who pronounce the *ḍād* as *ṭāʾ* that they rely on a tradition which goes back to the masters of *Qurʾān* readers is not valid, because there can be no contradiction between the tradition and the rules of the Arabic language". The claim concerning the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭāʾ* is a calumny against the Egyptian community. The Egyptian claim concerning the tradition which was handed down from generation to generation refers to the

pronunciation of the correct *ḍād*. This *ḍād* agrees with the pronunciation of *ḍād* throughout all the generations, as well as with the pronunciation of the pure Arabs, who have a faultless character.

2.15 "Among the features of *ḍād* it is specified that it is *šaǧriyya*. That is how al-Ḫalīl described it. This feature does not exist with the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭāʾ*, but rather in the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏ̣āʾ*, for the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭāʾ* is articulated from the tip of the tongue, and not from the part that is called *šaǧr al-fam* "the opening-up part of the mouth" (*wa-š-šaǧr munfataḥ al-fam*)". Ascribing to the Egyptians the *ḍād* that is similar to *ṭāʾ* is a calumny. The *ḍād* that they pronounce is the correct one, and according to Sībawayhi it is articulated from the beginning of the tongue's side and the molar teeth that lie next to it. According to al-Ḫalīl the *ḍād* is articulated from the same place of articulation as the *ǧ* and the *š*.

2.16 "There is an accepted statement originating from Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* II, 406.23–2), that without 'covering' the *ṭāʾ* would become *dāl*, and *ṣ* would become *s*, and *ḏ̣* would become *ḏ*, whereas the *ḍ* has no uncovered equivalent. This statement applies only to the *ḍād* that is similar to *ḏ̣āʾ*, and not to the *ḍād* that is similar to *ṭāʾ*, for the latter has an uncovered equivalent, namely *dāl*". This claim relies on al-Maqdisī's calumny against the Egyptians concerning the *ḍād* that is similar to *ṭāʾ*. These words confirm the correct *ḍād* which has been transmitted from generation to generation, and abolish the weak and condemned *ḍād*.

2.17 "The inhabitants of Mecca and the surrounding areas in Ḥiǧāz pronounce the *ḍād* similarly to *ḏ̣āʾ*". This claim has no basis. Our author argues that he visited Mecca and heard there the correct and right *ḍād*, and nobody there pronounced the weak, condemned *ḍād*. Our author was also informed by someone who lived close to Mecca, that he never heard the weak and incorrect *ḍād* from the inhabitants of the Ḥiǧāz.

After refuting these claims our author turns to the refutation of the evidence which al-Maqdisī quotes from the literature on the correct reading of the *Qurʾān* (*ʿilm at-taǧwīd*). The passages quoted by al-Maqdisī stress the similarity between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣āʾ*. These quotations call for a distinction to be made between the two sounds and for them not to be mingled. Al-Maqdisī quotes a verse by as-Saḫāwī (d. 643/1245–6), a passage from a work of al-Ǧaʿbarī (d. 732/1331–2), from Ibn ʾUmm Qāsim (d. 749/1348–9), from *at-Tamhīd fī ʿilm at-taǧwīd* by Ibn al-Ǧazarī (d. 833/1331–2), and from *al-Muqaddima*

al-Ǧazariyya. In his book *at-Tamhīd* Ibn al-Ǧazarī ascribes to the Egyptians the pronunciation of *ḍād* mingled with *ṭā'*, and to the Syrians he ascribes a pronunciation of *ḍād* which is completely identical with *ḏ̣ā'*. Our author argues that Ibn al-Ǧazarī wrote this before his arrival in Egypt, so that he knew only ignorant Egyptians, whereas the Egyptian *Qur'ān* readers could not make such a mistake.

2.18. "The *ḍād* that is similar to *ḏ̣ā'* does not mingle with it completely". It follows from this that *ḍād* mingles with *ḏ̣ā'* to a certain extent. This is the weak *ḍād* according to as-Sīrāfī and Sībawayhi. Al-Maqdisī should have explained what is the essence of this mingling.

3. *Refutation of the claims of al-Marʿašī*

In the next part of his treatise, al-Manṣūrī turns to the refutation of the claims of al-Marʿašī, again making a pun on the root of his name by calling him "the shaky one" etc. As can be learned from the opening page of our treatise, it is plausible that our author first intended to refute al-Marʿašī's treatise, and probably had finished with its introduction before he turned to the refutation of al-Maqdisī's claims.

3.1 "It is possible that the mistake of the Egyptians has spread". There is no basis fo this claim.

3.2 "The *ḍād* is heard like *ḏ̣ā'* while preserving its place of articulation between the side of the tongue and the molar teeth, and preserving the other features of *ḍād*. This description is supported by the masters in their books".

None of the masters claimed that *ḍād* is pronounced like *ḏ̣ā'*. The difference in the place of articulation proves that there is a difference in the way these two consonants sound. In the expression *ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm* there is a weakening of the gemination of *r*. al-Marʿašī tries to base this claim on al-Makkī's words in *ar-Riʿāya*. Our author argues that this is in contrast to the words of Ibn al-Ǧazarī. Our author says that he searched in *ar-Riʿāya* and did not find the statement which al-Marʿašī ascribes to that work. This statement is also in contrast to the words of al-Ǧaʿbarī, of Makkī, and of Ibn al-Ǧazarī in his book *an-Našr*.

3.3 "The pronunciation of *ṭā'* as an emphatic *tā'* is common, when it is pronounced as a voiceless consonant; but *ṭā'* is distinguished from *tā'* in both voice and covering, whereas *ṭā'* is distinguished

from *dāl* only in covering, hence it is as an emphatic *dāl* that the *ṭāʾ* should be pronounced". We pronounce the *ṭāʾ* voiced, plosive, elevating, emphatic, without mingling it with either *dāl* or with *ṭāʾ*. The statement that these three sounds share a common place of articulation is an approximation (*taqrīb*). The truth is that each sound has its own place of articulation which differs from that of the others.

3.4 "The *ṭāʾ* should be pronounced as an emphatic *dāl*". This claim must be rejected completely. There is no emphatic *dāl* in Arabic. Nobody among the predecessors claimed that *ṭāʾ* is an emphatic *dāl* or an emphatic *tāʾ*. Adding covering to *dāl* or to *tāʾ* turns them into *ṭāʾ*. When *tāʾ* gets covering it loses whispering. There follows a discussion concerning the differences between the sounds *dāl, tāʾ, ṭāʾ*.

After refuting al-Marʿašī's claims our author returns to a last claim of al-Maqdisī, which he refutes. But for the *ḍād*'s place of articulation and its extension (*istiṭāla*) al-Maqdisī claims that the *ḍād* would become *ḏāʾ*. This is clearly a mistake. Sībawayhi stated that without covering, the *ḍād* would have no realization in speech.

Translation of the Treatise

[1b] In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

[2a] Praise be to God, and may God bless His Prophet and His chosen one and his family and his friends and those who follow him. Now to our topic: after I had finished this introduction and furnished the proof for the uninterrupted transmission of the correct *ḍād* and for the non-validity of the weak *ḍād* with the diacritic dot, I came to know an epistle ascribed to ʿAlī b. Ġānim al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanafī, which he called "The Explorer's Desire to Correct the *ḍād*". Yet it would be more appropriate to call it "Corruption's Desire for the Heretical Innovation of *ḍād*", and more appropriate to burn it with fire than to take it seriously. I think that its ascription to ʿAlī al-Maqdisī is incorrect. It was ascribed to him by some heretic innovator to mislead ignorant people. Even if its ascription to him is true, it is still a heretic innovation, and each innovation is an error, so we shall not follow him. All his proofs for the corruption of *ḍād*'s pronunciation were built on his false claim, and anything built on that which is false is itself false. How numerous are the falsehoods in his claim! God save me from the evil of enviers. He claimed "that

the fundamental fact of the matter is [the fact] that people pronounce the *ḍād* mingled with emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl* and unpointed *ṭā*'". By my life, this is a calumny against all the people, originating from the invention of the slinking whisperer [i.e., Satan]. For we pronounce it as a pure *ḍād*, and this is the pronunciation of the educated; it is not mingled with *dāl* nor with *ṭā*', nor is it between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣ā*', and there is no emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl*. The pronunciation by ignorant people of *ḍāl* instead of *dāl* is a corruption of speech, just as they say *halāl* instead of *ḥalāl*.

Then this proponent claimed "that the pronunciation of *ḍād* as a *ḏ̣ā*'—with a dot—is the approved one". This is an absurdity on his part as to what he says and what he is talking about, for he recognized the pure *ḍād* and the pure *ḏ̣ā*', and he invented between them another consonant, so that the consonants reach the total of thirty. Yet by consensus the original consonants do not exceed twenty nine. The meaning of "*ḍād* similar to *ḏ̣ā*'" is that it is between *ḍād* and *ḏ̣ā*', and this is the weak foreign *ḍād*, [it is] improper in the Arabic language, [it is] disapproved in performance, and it is not allowed in reading the *Qur'ān* or in teaching others to read it. In his heretic innovation he has no support to rely upon, nor a sheikh to depend upon. He who has no sheikh, his sheikh is the devil. The saying of the Imām aš-Šāfi'ī is a proof for that: "knowledge is that which contains 'he said', 'he told us'. Anything except that [2b] is a delusion of the devils". Al-'Irāqī said: "Enlightenment and learning are (achieved) from their words. Books are not a better means to prevent misinterpretation, so listen and persevere". 'Abū Ḥayyān has recited:

> If you desire [to learn] knowledge without a sheikh, you will miss the right way
> Things will be dubious for you, until you go further astray than wise Tūmā (Thomas).

On the assumption that some people had fallen into error, he actually fell into a greater and more drastic error than that which he ascribed to them. They said: one should say: it is not allowed to pronounce it between *dāl* and *ṭā*', it should only be pronounced as a pure *ḍād*, not as a *ḍād* similar to *ḏ̣ā*'.

Then he adduced proofs for his innovation, all of which attest to the correct *ḍād* rather than to the innovated one. One of them is [the fact] that the scholars of this scientific discipline have specified

the expressions which are read with *ḏ̣ā'* and those which are read with *ḍād*. If there had not been a similarity in pronunciation between the two, they would not have specified. Yet this is not a sufficient proof of his claim, for the similarity in qualities, in addition to the fact that the similarity in orthography is well known, suffices [to make this warning adequate]. Al-Ǧaʿbarī has said: "There is no difference in orthography, except in the prolongation of the head of the *ḏ̣ā'* relative to the *ḍād*, because the *ḍād* is written with a curved head".

Then he sought proof for his innovation by [claiming] that *ḍād* does not exist in Turkish, but is unique to Arabic, whereas this *ḍād*—namely [3a] the correct one—is established in Turkish. I say: the truth is that the correct *ḍād*—which has been transmitted uninterruptedly—is unique to the Arabs, whereas the people of Byzantium with whom we associate have practised, and consequently they can pronounce the Arabic sounds. "He increases in His creatures what He wishes" [*Qur'ān* 35:1]. "That is God's bounty; He gives it to whom He will" [*Qur'ān* 5:54].

As to his saying: "the consonant which resembles the emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl* and the *ṭā'*—without diacritical point—which is pronounced by most of the Egyptians", it is foolish of him and falsehood and a clear calumny. Perhaps he saw some ignorant people pronouncing it as he alleged, and hence he slandered the majority of them with this falsity, and he pursued dispute and controversy.

He further claimed: "The jurisprudents have turned their attention to the legal judgments concerning those who substitute the *ḍād* for *ḏ̣ā'*, and if there had not been similarity [between the two], they would not have mentioned [it]". I say: it does not follow from this that one may read with the weak and rejected *ḍād*, and neglect the sound and approved *ḍād*, bearing in mind that the pronunciation of *ḍād* is entrusted to the *Qur'ān* readers who know the methods of reading.

He further claimed: "Some scholars attributed to it [i.e., the correct *ḍād*] [the feature of] spreading (*tafaššī*), and yet there is no spreading in it". I say: Makkī has said: "Spreading is the extension of the exit of the airstream and its expansion, until it seems that the *šīn* is stretched out until it reaches the point of articulation of *ṭā'*".[1] Some

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[1] In other words in its place of articulation; the author probably refers here to the difference between spatial extension of the place of articulation, in comparison with temporal length in the same place of articulation (Steiner 1977: 61).

of them have mentioned the *ḍād* in this sense due to its prolongation, because it joins the point of articulation of *lām*.

[3b] He further claimed: "One of its features is blowing of breath (*nafḫ*), and this is realized only with the *ḍād* which resembles the *ḏā'*". We say: blowing is the emission of air from the mouth, and with the correct *ḍād* there is something similar to a blowing, not a [real] blowing. 'Abū Ḥayyān said: 'Abū l-Ḥasan b. ʿUṣfūr said—and he had taken it from the words of Ibn Ǧinnī:—: "The saturated consonants (*al-ḥurūf al-mušraba*) are *ḏā', dāl, ḍād* and *zāy*. The saturated one is a consonant with which a quasi-blowing of breath emanates when it occurs in a pause. But it [i.e. the 'saturated' consonant] is not compressed (*yuḍġaṭu*) as is the restless one (*al-muqalqal*).[2] Don't you see that you hear a compression (*nabra*) when they [i.e., the restless ones] occur in pause? This compression occurs only in pause; when they are in liaison it does not exist, because you move your tongue away from them [i.e. from their point of articulation] to another sound. As for the consonants of whisper (*ḥurūf al-hams* 'voiceless consonants') the audible airstream (*aṣ-ṣawt*) [that comes] with them is an expiration (*nafas*), and it is not from the glottis. All the consonants in which you hear a sound (*ṣawt*) in a pause, lose this sound when you incorporate them and link them. This is so because your involvement with another sound and different consonants distracts you from making an audible airstream (*ṣawt*) following the first consonant, for instance *ḫuḏh, ḥuzh, ḥfaḏh, ḫfaḍh*". End of quotation. Compression according to the dictionary *al-Qāmūs* means that you hear some light utterance.

He further claimed: "The Arabs sometimes rhyme *ḍād* with *ḏā'*, and this can only happen when the consonants are close to each other, as in the verse:

> The voices of the sand grouses as they swoop down (*al-munqaḍḍi*)
> [4a] at night are like the sounds of rolling pebbles (*al-munqazzī*)

The [standard] *ḍād* is unlike the *zāy*; it is the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏā'* that is close to it [to the *zāy*]. We say: Just as the rhyming letter may interchange with a [sound] that is close to it, it may also interchange with an incompatible one. Ad-Damāmīnī has said in his commentary on *al-Ḫazraǧiyya*: "When the rhyming letter is linked

[2] For further elaboration on unrest (*qalqala*) see 14b–15a below.

with a different letter which is close to it in its point of articulation, it is called *'ikfā'*, as in the verse:

> O Ibn az-Zubayr, how often have you disobeyed (*'aṣaytā*) and how often have you harrassed us (*'ilaykā*)

He has joined together *kāf* and *tā'*, and they are close to each other in their point of articulation". The correct *ḍād* and *ẓāy* are close to each other in their point of articulation, as are the *kāf* and the *tā'*. When the rhyming letter is linked with another which is far away from it in its point of articulation, then it is called license (*'iǧāza*), as in the verse:

> My two friends, ride and leave the saddlebags
> I am in danger, and worries surround [me] (*tadūrū*)
> As he was selling his saddle bags someone said (*qā'ilū*):
> who owns a camel whose side is wide, of noble breed (*Naǧībū*)?

The *rā'* and the *bā'* are far away in their point of articulation.

He further said: "They have mentioned extension (*istiṭāla*) among its features, but there is no prolongation in the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'*". We say: his saying *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* is a false calumny on his part against the Egyptian readers of the *Qur'ān*. The meaning of "prolongation" according to al-Ǧa'barī is extension [of the active articulator] from the beginning of the tongue's side till its end. Ar-Raḍī has said: "The *ḍād* is called 'long' (*aṭ-ṭawīl*), because it [stretches] from the furthest part of the tongue's side till its far end, [4b] so that it engages most of the tongue's side". 'Abū Šāma has said: "Makkī has said: 'the prolongation is an expansion (*tamaddud*) when the *ḍād* comes out clearly with voicing (*ǧahr*), covering (*'iṭbāq*) and rising (*isti'lā'*), and with spreading (*tamakkun*) from the beginning of the tongue's side till its far end. In this way it becomes extended so that it reaches the point of articulation of *lām*'". End of quotation. This means that extension refers to the granting of these three features finding full expression together with spreading (*tamakkun*) from its point of articulation, and this distinguishes between *ḍād* and *ḏā'*. One should not say that it [i.e. *ḏā'*] shares with *ḍād* the three features, for *ḍād* is stronger than *ḏā'* with regard to voicing (*ǧahr*), covering (*'iṭbāq*) and rising (*isti'lā'*). The difference between extended sound (*mustaṭīl*) and prolonged sound (*mamdūd*) is that the extended sound flows in its point of articulation, whereas the prolonged sound flows by itself, i.e., by its essence, in other words considering its flow in its essence rather than in its point of articulation.

One should not say about it the inclusion of something [?] is in itself. You should know that the mutual incompatibility between extension and covering is apparent: in extension there is a stretching of the sound (*ṣawt*), whereas in covering there is a restriction of it. Al-Ǧārburdī has said: The covered consonants are those with which the tongue is made to cover the [soft] palate (*al-ḥanak [al-ʾaʿlā]*), so that the sound (*ṣawt*) is then restricted between the tongue and the palate that is opposite to it. Sībawayhi has said: "When you put your tongue in the places (*mawāḍiʿ*) of the covered consonants [5a] your tongue rises from these places toward the soft palate (*al-ḥanak al-ʾaʿlā*) which is against the tongue, when raising it toward the palate. When you put your tongue [there], the sound (*ṣawt*) is restricted (*maḥṣūr*) between the tongue and the palate as far as the place (*mawḍiʿ*) of the consonants. As for *dāl* and *zāy* and their like, the sound (*ṣawt*) is only restricted when you put your tongue in their places [of articulation], whereas these four [i.e., the covered consonants] have two points of contact with regard to the tongue, and this is made clear by the restriction of the sound (*ṣawt*)". End of quotation. One can infer from him the answer that when the tongue moves from the place of the *ḍād* toward the soft palate (*al-ḥanak al-ʾaʿlā*), the sound (*ṣawt*) stretches when you start positioning [the tongue], and when you finish positioning [it] the sound (*ṣawt*) is restricted. Someone else answered that it is possible that its extension (*istiṭāla*) takes place when there is no vowel, whereas restriction of sound (*ṣawt*) takes place when there is a vowel, because with vocalization it is voiced (*maǧhūra*), so that expiration (*nafas*) does not flow and the audible airstream (*ṣawt*) is restricted. When there is no vowel there is laxity (*riḫw*) which is susceptible to the flow of sound (*ṣawt*), so stretching (*imtidād*) of sound is apparent. However, extension (*istiṭāla*) is a unique feature of *ḍād*, and it takes place only in this consonant, hence Sībawayhi and most of the grammarians did not mention it [i.e., the feature of extension with regard to other consonants which are characterized by laxity], contenting themselves with specifying its point of articulation (*muḫraǧ*).

He further said: "One of its features is laxity (*raḫāwa*)". I say: what is understood [5b] from their statement is that laxity is smoothness (*līn*) and admitting the flow of the sound (*qubūl ǧaryi ṣ-ṣawt*). The correct *ḍād* is smooth, whether it is accompanied by a vowel or not.

Its smoothness can be tested by making the sound (*ṣawt*) flow when it is not accompanied by a vowel, whereas covering (*ʾiṭbāq*) requires

restriction of sound (*ṣawt*), hence it occurs when there is a vowel; and making the sound (*ṣawt*) flow is at the time when there is no vowel. Aš-Šāṭibī has said:

> The whispered ones are ten: *ḥ, ṯ, t, k, s, f, š, ḫ, ṣ, h*
> *ʾ, ğ, d, t, k, q, ṭ, b* represent the strong ones (*aš-šadīda*)[3]
> The consonants *ʿ, m, r, n, l* are in between lax and plosive
> *w, ʾalif, y* are consonants of prolongation (*madd*) and they conclude the lax ones

In other words, the last three letters are letters of prolongation, and he classifies them among the lax ones. Sībawayhi and others said that they are in between lax and strong, and they come up to eight combined by *lima yarūʿunā*, or *lam yaraʿwnā* or *lam yurawwiʿnā*, or *lam yarwiʿnā*, or *waliyyunā ʿumar*. Ar-Raḍī has said: "It has been taken from the words of Sībawayhi, and the reason why he classified the consonants *lm yrwʿnā* in between the strong [i.e., plosive] ones and the lax [i.e., fricative] ones, is because the strong ones are those in which the sound (*ṣawt*) is restricted in their places of articulation in a pause. As for these eight consonants, the sound (*ṣawt*) is restricted in their places of articulation at a pause, yet there are certain reasons which make the sound (*ṣawt*) go out through another place. As for *ʿayn*, the sound (*ṣawt*) is restricted at its point of articulation, yet because of its proximity to *ḥāʾ*—which is whispered [i.e., voiceless]—its sound (*ṣawt*) slips away a little, so it is as if you [6a] stop at the *ḥāʾ*. As for *lām*, its point of articulation—namely the blade of the tongue (*ṭaraf*)—does not withdraw from its place at the palate (*ḥanak*) when it is pronounced, so there is no flow of sound (*ṣawt*) through it. Yet, as the sound (*ṣawt*) track is not completely blocked as in *dāl* and *tāʾ*, but rather the blade of the tongue turns away when it is pronounced—the sound (*ṣawt*) goes out, when it is pronounced, through the tip of the tongue (*mustadaqq al-lisān*) a little bit above [i.e., to the back of] its point of articulation. As for *mīm* and *nūn*, the sound (*ṣawt*) does not go out through their place of articulation in the mouth, but as they have two exits, one in the mouth and in the nose, the sound (*ṣawt*) flows through the nose rather than through the mouth, for if you should grasp your nose, the sound (*ṣawt*) would not flow with these two [letters]. As for *rāʾ*, the sound (*ṣawt*) does not flow at the beginning of its pronunciation, however it flows to

[3] I.e., the plosive consonants.

some extent because it turns away and inclines toward the *lām*, as we said about the *ʿayn* which inclines toward the *ḥāʾ*. In addition, the *rāʾ* is reiterated (*mukarrara*),[4] so when it is reiterated, the sound (*ṣawt*) flows with it during its reiteration. So are the *wāw, yāʾ*, and *ʾalif*: the sound (*ṣawt*) does not flow a lot with them, yet as their points of articulation widen for the air of sound (*ṣawt*) more than it widens for other voiced (*mağhūra*) ones, the sound (*ṣawt*) with them increases so that some of it does flow". End of quotation. ʾAbū Saʿīd has said: "These three—because of the widening of their point of articulation, and because the vowels [6b] are part of them, and no other consonant causes prolongation in singing nor in melodies—each one of them has a sound (*ṣawt*) in a place other than its point of articulation in the mouth, so they became similar to the lax ones by the sound (*ṣawt*) which flows when they are in pause. And they resemble the strong ones (*aš-šadīda*) because they stick to their places. The sound (*ṣawt*) in them is unlike the one in the lax ones, because the sound (*ṣawt*) of the lax ones which flows in pause is only from their places". End of quotation. ʾAbū Ḥayyān has said that ʾAbu ʿAmr aṣ-Ṣayrafī has said: "The difference between the voiced (*mağhūr*) and the strong one (*aš-šadīd*) is that the leaning (*iʿtimād*) in the voiced (*mağhūr*) is forceful, whereas the sticking in its place of the strong one (*aš-šadīd*) is firm. The leaning in the place of the lax one at the time of its pronunciation is weak, so that sound (*ṣawt*) flows with it, because its sticking in its point of articulation is not as firm as with the strong one. The difference between the whispered and strong [i.e., the unvoiced stop] and the voiced lax [i.e., voiced fricative] is that the pronunciation of the first one ends, and after its pronunciation ends there is a flow of breath (*nafas*), as in *ak*, *at*, whereas the pronunciation of the latter does not end as long as the sound (*ṣawt*) flows, as in *aḏ*, *aḏ̣*".

Then he said: "This consonant [i.e., the correct, strong *ḍād*] is hard for the tongue". Then finally he said: "And you see that there is no difficulty in the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭāʾ* [i.e., the emphatic *d*], moreover, it is most easy for the tongue". We say: his saying [7a] [*ḍād* which is] similar to *ṭāʾ* is a calumny against the Egyptian community. As for the correct, strong *ḍād*, it is hard for the Syrian and Byzantine communities, as we witnessed in the town of Belgrade and the surrounding areas, for it is hard for them to pronounce the

[4] In other words it is a trill (Abercrombie 1971: 49).

ḍād. As for those who know the *Qur'ān* by heart in Egypt and in Constantinople they have practised the pronunciation of the correct *ḍād*, and it has become natural for them. He [i.e., Ibn al-Ǧazarī] has said in *The Introduction*:

> Between its [performance] and its neglect
> Stands only one's practice in its separation

And his words: "Sībawayhi said: 'it is performed from both sides'" are a lie with regard to Sībawayhi, for he only said so with regard to the weak *ḍād*, and not with regard to the correct, better-known *ḍād*.

He further said: "The point of articulation which is specified for the *ḍād* fits only for the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏā'*, and not for the one which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aṭ-ṭā'iyya*)". We say: his saying "similar to *ṭā'* (*aṭ-ṭā'iyya*)" is a calumny of his, for we have examined the pure and correct *ḍād*, and we have found that the sound (*ṣawt*) eventually reaches the tongue's side (*ḥāfat al-lisān*). And we have examined the weak *ḍād*, and we have found that the sound (*ṣawt*) eventually reaches the blade of the tongue (*ṭaraf al-lisān*). Have you not noticed the words of 'Abū Sa'īd as-Sīrāfī: "They often utter it as *ḏā'*, because they emit it from between the blade of the tongue and the edges of the middle incisors. Sometimes they take it upon themselves to emit it from the point of articulation of the *ḍād*, and it is not attainable to them, [7b] so it is emitted between the *ḍād* an the *ḏā'*". The *ḍād* of this innovator is therefore undoubtedly the weak one.

He further said: "If someone says: 'we transmit this *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aṭ-ṭa'iyya*) through a chain of transmitters which goes back to the masters of *Qur'ān* reading and reaches the Prophet, may God bless and save him', we say: transmitting which contradicts knowledge should not be taken into consideration, because a precondition of *Qur'ān* reading is that it should be consistent with the Arabic language, and we have already demonstrated its contradiction with what is successively repeated in the books of Arabic and *Qur'ān* reading". I say: his saying "similar to *ṭā'* (*aṭ-ṭā'iyya*)" is a calumny of his against the Egyptian community. The ill manners which are associated with this abominable saying are not concealed from anyone who has a minimal knowledge of the science of Islamic jurisprudence. They only said: we only transmit the correct *ḍād*, which each generation unanimously agreed to be good and pure, through a trusty chain of transmitters, which is continuous and well-known by the first generations and the late generations, having

reached the Chief Messenger through Gabriel the trustworthy from the Lord of all Being. It is part of the opening of the Book, which anyone who is capable of speaking is ordered to read. As uninterrupted transmission from him, may God bless and save him, is proven, how can it be allowed to differ from what has been transmitted, inasmuch as Arabic [8a] is established by the Glorious *Qur'ān*, by the speech of His noble Messenger and by the speech of the genuine Arabs who have an intact nature? What he claimed concerning the innovated *ḍād* being Arab originates from his poor understanding. How many people who condemn a correct opinion are filled with poor understanding! And one should not take into consideration poor knowledge when it contradicts correct transmission. As to this *ḍād* which is similar to *ḍā'*, was it brought down to him from the sky by an angel, or was it transmitted to him orally by the genuine Arabs or by those who are experts in *Qur'ān* reading and pronunciation? As-Suyūṭī said in *al-Kawkab as-Sāṭiʿ fī Naẓm Ǧamʿ al-Ǧawāmiʿ*: "[The one who denies what men of knowledge agreed on as a basic aspect of religion is definitely not a Muslim. Often, when an aspect of wide disagreement is recorded in a text, and that aspect has not been revealed, the majority opinion is that it is correct to deny it. This is especially because whoever rejects an unrevealed aspect is not a denier, even though this aspect is recorded in text." KV].[5] And one should not say that the establishment of Arabic by the *Qur'ān*, ant the condition that the *Qur'ān* should be in accordance with Arabic are circular, because we say: what is meant by the conformity of the *Qur'ān* with Arabic is its conformity with the grammatical rules which are well-known among the grammarians, which are drawn from His speech, exalted be He, and the speech of His Messenger, may God bless and save him [8b], and the speech of the predecessor genuine Arabs; whether this speech is more correct Arabic or less, whether it is unanimously agreed upon or controversial, something like this speech does not affect the selected parts in the eyes of the investigators. So one should no take into consideration the controversies of those who dispute and philosophize.

Then he said: "One of its features is that it is pronounced in the cleaving part of the mouth (*šaǧrī*),[6] it was called so by al-Ḫalīl. This

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[5] [Approximate meaning of this passage, which is certainly corrupt. Since I did not have as-Suyūṭī's text at my disposal I have made an effort to reconstruct the meaning in accordance with the context. KV]

[6] In the introduction to Ḫalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (I, 58) the consonants *ǧīm, šīn, ḍād*

cannot be compatible unless it is similar to *ḏā'*, namely the weak *ḍād*, because the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aḍ-ḍād aṭ-ṭa'iyya*) is uttered from the blade of the tongue and not from the cleaving part of the mouth (*šağr al-fam*)". I say: he has lied with regard to the Egyptians in ascribing to them the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aḍ-ḍād aṭ-ṭā'iyya*), whereas their *ḍād* is the correct *ḍād*, its point of articulation according to Sībawayhi is between the beginning of the tongue's side and the molar teeth that lie next to it, and according to al-Ḫalīl it is from the point of a articulation of *ğīm* and *šīn*. So according to the latter it obstructs the widening part of the tongue (*šağr al-lisān*) and what is opposite to it, and *aš-šağr* is the place where the mouth opens up (*munfataḥ al-fam*).

Then he said: "Their saying: 'if it were not for the covering (*'iṭbāq*) the *ṭā'* would become *dāl*, and the *ṣād* would become *sīn*, and the *ḏā'* would become *ḏāl*, and the *ḍād* would go out of speech' applies to the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏā'*—namely the weak *ḍād*. As for the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aḍ-ḍād aṭ-ṭā'iyya*), the three alveolar consonants (*al-ḥurūf an-niṭ'iyya*)[7] are uttered from its point of articulation. So if the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aḍ-ḍād aṭ-ṭā'iyya*) were Arabic, it would be described as alveolar, and were it not for the covering (*'iṭbāq*), it would become *dāl*". I say: he has based this on his calumny against the Egyptians with regard to the *ḍād* which is similar to *ṭā'* (*aṭ-ṭā'iyya*) [9a]. You have seen earlier that these are the words of Sībawayhi. He [i.e., al-Maqdisī] probably had not heard about *al-Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, consequently he ascribed them [i.e., these words] to 'Abū Ḥayyān.[8] You have already seen that these words confirm the correct and recurring *ḍād*, and invalidate the *ḍād* of those who pronounce the weak, condemned, and disgraceful *ḍād*.

Then he said: "The inhabitants of Mecca and the districts of Ḥiğāz that are next to it only utter the *ḍād* which is similar to *ḏā*—with the diacritic dot".[9] I say: this is a falsified unaccepted claim. I have entered Mecca, and I have heard from them [i.e., its inhabitants] the correct and agreeable *ḍād*, and I have not heard from anyone of them this weak and condemned *ḍād*. I was also informed by

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are called *šağriyya* because their starting point (*mabda'*) is from the *šağr* of the mouth, namely the place where the mouth cleaves (*mafrağ al-fam*).

[7] This refers to *ṭā'*, *dāl*, and *tā'*.

[8] See Maqdisī, *Buġyat al-murtād* 28b.

[9] See Maqdisī, *Buġyat al-murtād* 28b.

someone who lived in the vicinity of exalted Mecca that he did not hear from the inhabitants of Ḥiǧāz this weak and corrupted *ḍād.*

Then the author of this treatise [i.e., *The Explorer's Desire to Correct the ḍād*] adduced lines from poetry and expressions and claimed that they clearly point to the pronunciation of *ḍād* like *ḏā'*. Yet we think that they all point to a distinction between *ḍād* and *ḏā'*, for instance the verse:

> *ḍād* and *ḏā'*—due to [their] close point of articulation—sometimes (*qad*) call upon a confused manner [of articulation]

qad is used to express rarity (*li-t-taqlīl*). Also in the verse:

> It is often confused with *ḍād*
> Except by the expert critics

and we are—it is to be hoped—among the expert critics. And likewise the verse of as-Saḫāwī:

> Distinguish it clearly from *ḏā'*, because in *'aḍlalna* or in *gīḍa* they resemble each other

He instructed us [9b] to distinguish it from *ḏā'*, and he did not instruct us to mingle it with *ḏā'*. Similar to this saying are his words: *ḍād* is distinguished from *ḏā'* by [its] extension (*istiṭāla*) and by its point of articulation. Also similar to it are the words of al-Ǧa'barī: "*ḏā'* is the mate of *ḍād* in all [its] ornaments, but the two consonants are distinguished by extension (*istiṭāla*), and also their points of articulation indicate contrast rather than mingling". Also similar to it are the words of Ibn 'Umm Qāsim: "Its resemblance to it is so strong that it is difficult to distinguish between them, and much practice is needed". We say: we have acquired thorough practice, as the most erudite Ibn al-Ǧazarī has said:

> Nothing stands between its [performance] and its neglect
> Except one's practice in its separation

He who improves his pronunciation with practice acquires skill. Also the words of the scholar 'Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abī Ṭālib and others convey difference in the pronunciation of *ḍād* and *ḏā'*, rather than mingling of *ḍād* with *ḏā'*. His [al-Maqdisī's] quotation from *ar-Ri'āya*: "*ḏā'* is a consonant which sounds similar to *ḍād*" was fabricated by him [i.e., al-Maqdisī] for in *ar-Ri'āya* it is stated: "Were it not for the difference in points of articulation and for the extension (*istiṭāla*) in *ḍād*, their pronunciation would be identical and they would not sound different".

Then this heretical innovator cited the words of *at-Tamhīd* saying:[10] "as for the *ḍād*" etc., and he mentioned that there are those who make it *ḏ̣ā'* in any respect, and that they are the majority of the Syrians. There are those who mingle it with *ṭā'* [10a]—without the diacritic dot—including most of the Egyptians. We say: this contradicts what he fabricated to discredit the Egyptians, for he said: "they pronounce it between *ṭā'* and *dāl*". And this invalidates the pronunciation of *ḍād* as *ḏ̣ā'*, for he blamed the Syrians for their turning it into *ḏ̣ā'*, whereas pronunciation of *ḍād* as *ḏ̣ā'* is close to pure *ḏ̣ā'* and entails the purity of *ḏ̣ā'*. As for his words: "including most of the Egyptians", this allegation is unacceptable, because of His words, exalted be He: "It is We who have sent down the Remembrance, and We watch over it" (*Qur'ān* 15:9); and his words, may God bless and save him: "my community will not concur in error". And who is so great that all his traits of character are approved? It suffices a man with regard to nobleness that his faults are countable. 'Alī the *Qur'ān* reader has said: "The author wrote *at-Tamhīd* on first reaching the age of maturity, so one should rely on *an-Našr*, for it was written later, and it is the truth, as asserted by al-Qasṭalānī". End of quotation. Al-Qasṭalānī said: "Ibn al-Ǧazarī admitted that he had written *at-Tamhīd* on reaching maturity, and in *an-Našr* he did not ascribe it to any Egyptian. If he wrote *at-Tamhīd* on reaching the age of maturity, and he was born in Damascus in the year 751 [of the Hiğra], it is inconceivable that he had seen Egypt before he wrote it. His saying "he wrote it in Cairo the comforter [city]" is unsatisfactory, since it does not comfort anybody, so [10b] the intention must be "most of the Egyptians who are in his country", such as donkey drivers, camel drivers and their like, and these cannot be taken into account. As for the Egyptians who know the *Qur'ān* by heart, it is inconceivable to ascribe this mistake to them. He said, may God bless and save him: "The most respectable among my community are those who know the *Qur'ān* by heart". After he had written *aṭ-Ṭayyiba* and *an-Našr* he entered Cairo at the beginning of the year 809 [of the Hiğra], and the people of Egypt studied under him the ten *Qur'ān* readings in slow recitation (*murattilīn*), and reading in accordance with the established rules of pronunciation and intonation (*muğawwidīn*) by his chain of transmitters

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[10] See Maqdisī, *Buġyat al-murtād* 30a.

which goes back to the masters preceding him. They benefited from him to the utmost extent, and praised him with the most profound poems and kasidas, such as the verses written by one of them:

> O the sun of *Qur'ān* reading science which rose
> By your rightness, God has bestowed favors upon Egypt
> Look, by getting close to you[11] it spreads
> a fragrance and has turned to be of good[12] diffusion[13]

He died, may God have mercy upon him, in Shiraz in the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 833 [of the Hiğra/1429 A.D.]. All the chains of transmitters of *Qur'ān* scholars now go back to him by his teaching in Egypt how to read the *Qur'ān*, and our chain of transmitters goes back to him in outstanding and celebrated ways. Moreover our Sheikh, Sheikh 'Aḥmad b. 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAğamī said: "I have read *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* to our Sheikh aš-Šihāb 'Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Qalyūbī, and he has authorized me with regard to it with his chain of transmitters going back to the judge of the jinn Šamhūrš", i.e., transmitting from the Prophet, may God bless and save him [11a]. This tradition was also well-known from the authority of our Sheikh Sulṭān. The confirmation of this are His words, exalted be He: "And when We turned to thee a company of jinn giving ear to the *Qur'ān*" (*Qur'ān* 46:29). If this is known, how can one listen to the words of that fabricator al-Marʿašī, to whom the Devil gave the idea of shaking[14] the *ḍād* with his tongue, until he went astray and misled some ignorant people, daring to challenge those whose benefit prevails everywhere, for he said: "Perhaps the mistake of the Egyptians has spread". The master al-Ğazā'irī, may God, be He exalted, have mercy upon him, has said: "Everyone who rejects what we said is a heretic, so dismiss him from yourself and do not listen to the erroneous one. For any heretic, if he claims that his knowledge surpasses that of another man, makes the insight weak so others repeat his error, seeing him seemingly right and non plagiarist". So adhere to the knowledgeable scholars and follow their way, even if you do not know its secret, for in the introduction we have adduced Qur'ānic

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[11] The poet alludes to his book *at-Taqrīb*, which literally means "getting close to".
[12] The poet alludes to his book *aṭ-Ṭayyiba*, which literally means "the good one [f.]".
[13] The poet alludes to his book *an-Našr*, which literally means "spreading, diffusion."
[14] The author once again makes a pun on the root *r-ʿ-š* from which al-Marʿašī's name is derived.

verses and authentic *ḥadīṯ*s which suffice to refute the heretics, and [to prove] that knowledge without chain of authorities is a devilish insinuation.

Then he said in the Maqdisī treatise—and I think that its ascription to ʿAlī al-Maqdisī is a fabrication:[15] "When I say that *ḍād* is similar to *ḏāʾ* I do not mean that it is mingled with it to the utmost extent" [11b] etc. I say: his saying "it is not mingled with it to the utmost extent" means that it is mingled with it, at least to some extent. And this is the weak *ḍād* according to the words of as-Sīrāfī and Sībawayhi. And what he calls "the *ḍād* as *ḏāʾ*" is the accepted one, it is pronounced between *ḍād* and *ḏāʾ*. Are you not aware of his words in *aṭ-Ṭayyiba:* "and *ṣād* similar to *zāy* is abundant"? This means that it is pronounced between *ṣād* and *zāy*, namely a mingled consonant consisting of *ṣād* and *zāy*. As aš-Šāṭibī has said:[16]

> [The second one[17] is like a prolongation according to Warš and Qunbul

and as he has said:

> . . . Two types,[18] say: they were lightened as *yāʾ* and *wāw*

Likewise, the words of Sībawayhi in *al-Kitāb* "and the *šīn* which is like *ǧīm*, and the *ṣād* which is like *zāy*, and the *ǧīm* that is like *kāf*, and the *ǧīm* that is like *šīn*, and the *ṭāʾ* that is like *tāʾ*, and the *ḏāʾ* that is like *ṯaʾ*, and the *ṣād* that is like *sīn*, and the *bāʾ* that is like *fāʾ*", all this means "in between", and his saying: "*ḍād* like *ḏāʾ*" is explicit with regard to mingling. He had to [. . .] the meaning of this mingling, whether it is by way of spreading (*šuyūʿ*), or by way of [. . .]. And this meaning is supported by his words, followed by al-Marʿašī who causes the *ḍād* to shake:[19] "if they are proper, you make it [i.e., the *ḍād*] heard like a *ḏāʾ*—with the diacritic dot—by

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[15] See Maqdisī, *Buġyat al-murtād* 30b.

[16] In the following two lines aš-Ṣāṭibi refers to different manifestations known in Arabic phonology as *hamza bayna bayna*. The two lines are quoted from a chapter which deals with the pronunciation of two *hamza*s in a sequence: the first at final position and the second in initial position of the following word.

[17] Namely the second *hamza* in a sequence of two *hamza*s with identical vowels.

[18] Namely two types of *hamza* + vowel sequences which were mentioned in the preceeding verse: *ʾa* + *ʾi*—the second *hamza* in this sequence is pronounced between *hamza* and *yāʾ*; *ʾa* + *ʾu*—the second *hamza* in this sequence is pronounced between *hamza* and *wāw*.

[19] The author once more makes a pun on the root *r-ʿ-š* from which al-Marʿašī's name is derived.

making its point of articulation [12a] from the side of the tongue and the molar teeth that lie next to it, and you give it the features which were mentioned. This is the correct [description] which is supported by the words of the masters in their books". We say: this heretic takes lightly that he will be punished with deafness, for none of the masters has said that *ḍād* is heard like *ḏāʾ* with the diacritic dot. The difference in points of articulation proves that there is a difference in the pronunciation of the two. Ibn Ǧinnī has said: "The sounds (*ʾaǧrās*) of the consonants vary according to the difference in their articulation. For example when you say the *kāf* loudly, you hear a certain echo. And when you go back to *qāf*, you hear a different one. And when you pass to the *ǧīm*, you hear an echo which is different from the first two."

The futility of the words of the shaky one (*al-murtaʿiš*)[20] about the *rāʾ* is obvious, namely that in the expression *ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm* it is common to reduce the gemination of *rāʾ*, whereas the author of *ar-Riʿāya* has said: "when the geminated consonant is *rāʾ*, the *Qurʾān* reader should be cautious with regard to its gemination, together with the concealment of its reiteration (*takrīr*), so he geminates it considerably". End of quotation. [The gist] of the words of *ar-Riʿāya* is that *rāʾ* is geminated to the utmost degree among the geminated consonants. I say: this is in contrast with the words of the most erudite Ibn al-Ǧazarī "conceal reiteration (*takrīr*) when it is geminated, namely do not exaggerate in reiterating the geminated [i.e., the geminated *rāʾ*)". The expression of *ar-Riʿāya*—if it is correct—refers to concealment in the negative sense, i.e., do not reiterate it [12b] and geminate it too much. And after that I again went over *ar-Riʿāya*, and I did not find this expression in it. Al-Ǧaʿbarī has said: "The way to avoid reiteration (*takrīr*) is to press the surface of the tongue firmly against the palate (*ḥanak*) once, and each time it vibrates, it produces a *rāʾ*". Makkī has said: "In *Qurʾān* reading one must conceal reiteration (*takrīr*). And when one produces [reiteration], he makes the geminated consonant many consonants, and he makes the non-geminated consonant two consonants". And he has said in *an-Našr*: "One should pronounce the *rāʾ* geminated in such a way that the tongue should withdraw once and be lifted once without exaggerat-

[20] The author once more makes a pun on the root *r-ʿ-š* from which al-Marʿašī's name is derived.

ing in stricture (*ḥaṣr*) and pressure (*ʿusr*), as in *ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm*". End of quotation.

The shaky one has said: "Their reading of *ṭā'*—without the diacritic dot—as an emphatic *tā'* with a whisper (*hams*) [i.e., voiceless] is common, although *ṭā'*—without the diacritic dot—and *tā'* and *dāl* are uttered from the same point of articulation. *ṭā'* differs from *tā'* by voicing (*ğahr*) and covering (*'iṭbāq*), and from *dā*[*l* by covering] only, so one should pronounce *ṭā'* as an emphatic *dāl*, not as an emphatic *tā'*". I say: the claim of whispering (*hams*) is not accepted, for we pronounce it as a voiced (*mağhūra*), plosive (*šadīda*), elevating (*mustaʿliya*),[21] emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*), covered (*muṭbaqa*) *ṭā'*, free from mixing of *dāl* and *tā'*, as is the practice of the reciters of the *Qur'ān* who are knowledgeable in the ways of pronunciation, as they learned by word of mouth from the best *Qur'ān* readers. [13a] The statement that the three [i.e., *ṭā'*, *dāl* and *tā'*] are uttered from the same point of articulation is an approximation [to facilitate the understanding]. The verification is that each consonant has a point of articulation which is different from the point of articulation of the other, for otherwise it would be identical with it, as specified by al-Ğārburdī and followed by Judge Zakarīyā'. Al-Qasṭalānī has said: "These points of articulation are an approximation, for if not, each consonant would have its [own] point of articulation". One should not take into consideration ʿAlī the *Qur'ān* reader's reply to him, for according to this method sense testifies that *ṭā'* has two places in the tongue [i.e., a velar secondary articulation], so that it is distinguished from *tā'* and *dāl* by a secondary place of articulation.

His words: "that the *ṭā'* should be pronounced as an emphatic *dāl*" is a false, fabricated, harmful claim, for there is no emphatic *dāl* in Arabic, and none of the predecessors has said that *ṭā'* is an emphatic *dāl* or an emphatic *tā'*. If he meant by an emphatic *dāl* what children and ignorant people utter in their speech, namely *ḍāl* or *ṭāl* instead of *dāl*, this is improper, corrupted speech (*laḥn*) of which one should be wary when using high style. If he meant that *dāl* is attired with covering (*'iṭbāq*) and then changes into *ṭā'*, it is equally possible with covering (*'iṭbāq*) to change the *tā'* into *ṭā'*. The feature of whisper (*hams*) does not prevent this, because when it changes into *ṭā'*, no whisper (*hams*) remains. Yet, in the words of these two heretics,

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[21] I.e., velar. For further elaboration on 'elevation' in Arabic phonetic theory see Kinberg (1987).

there is a big confusion and an attack [13b] with no differentiation, because they claim that the Egyptians pronounce the *ḍād* between an emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl* and *ṭā'*, whereas according to both of them the emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl* is *ṭā'*, so it means between *ṭā'* and *ṭā'*, and this would not be said by a fool, let alone by an intelligent person. The words of the most erudite Ibn al-Ǧazarī in *at-Tamhīd* say explicitly that when the *tā'* becomes emphatic it turns into a *ṭā'*—without a diacritic dot. He said—may God have mercy upon him: "When the *tā'*—with two diacritic dots—appears in a word before a consonant of covering (*'iṭbāq*), it is necessary to make it [i.e., the *tā'*] clear and to clarify it with a soft (*muraqqaq*), non emphatic (*ġayr mufaḫḫam*) pronunciation, as in His words: *'a-fa-taṭma'ūna* (*Qur'ān* 2:75), *wa-lā taṭġaw* (*Qur'ān* 11:112), and *taṭhīran* (*Qur'ān* 33:33), because the *ṭā'* and the *tā'* are [uttered] from the same point of articulation, but the *ṭā'* is a strong (*qawī*) consonant, with voicing (*ǧahr*), plosion (*šidda*), covering (*'iṭbāq*), and elevation (*isti'lā'*), whereas the *tā'* is low (*mutasaffila*), opened (*munfatiḥa*), i.e., without covering (*'iṭbāq*), and whispered (*mahmūsa*). And when a strong (*qawī*) consonant, is preceded by a weak (*ḍa'īf*) one which is next to it, it [i.e., the strong consonant] attracts it [i.e., the weak consonant] toward itself. Do you not see that whenever *tā'* occurs after a consonant of covering (*'iṭbāq*), it [i.e., the *tā'*] must be replaced by a *ṭā'*, as in *iṣṭafā* and *iḍṭarra*, so that the tongue operates in the same manner?". End of quotation. Hence *ṭā'* is an emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *tā'*, and not an emphatic (*mufaḫḫama*) *dāl*, as claimed by the shaky one. And his words in *at-Tamhīd* disclose that changing a weak consonant into a strong one is more likely than changing a strong one into a stronger [14a] one. And perhaps this is the secret behind the fact that the *tā'* which is truly emphatic becomes a *ṭā'*. And the *dāl*, when made truly emphatic, becomes *ḍād*, and the difference between the two points of articulation does not prevent this. Do you not see that *zāy*, when made truly emphatic, becomes *ḏ̣ā'* in spite of the difference between the two points of articulation? Based on Sībawayhi's words "but for the covering (*'iṭbāq*), the *ṭā'* would become *dāl*—he mentioned it in the discussion of covering (*'iṭbāq*)—and the position is designated—namely without the covering (*'iṭbāq*), with the staying of voicing, it would become *dāl*, not *tā'*, because that is whispered (*mahmūsa*, i.e., voiceless). But if both covering (*'iṭbāq*) and voicing (*ǧahr*) were withdrawn from it [i.e., from *ṭā'*], it would become *tā'*. And *dāl* with covering (*'iṭbāq*) becomes a *ṭā'*—wihout a diacritic dot and with whis-

pering (*hams*, i.e. devoicing)—it becomes a *tā'*—with two diacritic dots. And *tā'*—with two diacritic dots—becomes with voicing a *dāl*, and with covering—a *ṭā'*. And turning *tā'* into *ṭā'*, because of its weakness, is more likely than turning *dāl* into *ṭā'*. So one should be cautious not to make the *tā'* emphatic, so that it does not become *ṭā'*; and not to voice it, lest it become *dāl*. And one should maintain its plosion (*šidda*), lest it become lax (*riḫwa*), for sometimes it becomes *sīn*, when it is vowelles, as in *fitna*, because its point of articulation is close to it [to the *sīn*], so it produces laxity (*raḫāwa*) and whistling (*ṣafīr*). And if it is followed by [14b] an *'alif* which is not inclining toward *i* (*ġayr mumāla*), as in *tā'ibūna*, it should be pronounced with softness (*tarqīq*). And one should be wary of pronouncing the *dāl*—without the diacritic dot—with whispering (*hams*), lest it turn into a *tā'*. And it is necessary to make clear its plosion (*šidda*), its voicing (*ǧahr*), and its unrest (*qalqala*),[22] when it is quiescent without a vowel. And none of the *Qur'ān* readers has cautioned against making the *dāl* emphatic. And the *ṭā'*—without the diacritic dot—is one of the strongest (*'aqwā*) consonants, due to the features of strength (*quwwa*) which it possesses. So when it [i.e., the *ṭā'*] is reiterated as in *šaṭaṭan*, it should be pronounced clearly, just like it should be geminated as in *iṭṭayyara*. And if it is quiscent as in *al-ḫaṭfa* and *'aṭġā* and *al-'asbāṭ* in a pause (*waqf*), it is obligatory to pronounce with clarity its covering (*'iṭbāq*) and unrest (*qalqala*). Our master, sheikh Sulṭān, has said: "As to the definition of unrest (*qalqala*), it is a voice (*ṣawt*) which occurs at its [i.e., the *ṭā'*s] edge due to the suppression of its place [of articulation]. And it [i.e., unrest, *qalqala*] happens only in pause (*waqf*), and one cannot stop after it [i.e., *ṭā'*] without it [i.e., without unrest, *qalqala*), even though one is required to fully articulate its [i.e., the *ṭā'*'s] essence; these are the words of al-Makkī". And in his words: "it [i.e., unrest, *qalqala*) happens only in pause" the intention of "pause" is quiescence (*sukūn*). In saying this he followed the style of the predecessors in referring to quiescence (*sukūn*) by [the term] "pause" (*waqf*). And the consonants of unrest (*qalqala*) are *q ṭ b ǧ d*. End of quotation.

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[22] Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* II, 284) uses this epithet with reference to the consonants *qāf, ǧīm, ṭā', dāl,* and *bā'*, because of the small amount of voice (*ṣuwayt*) that follows these consonants in a pause, as the tongue withdraws from its place (of articulation). This feature is due to the strong pressure with which these consonants are pronounced.

The most erudite Ibn al-Ǧazarī has said:

> Clear and with unrest when it is quiescent
> And if it is in a pause, it is clearer

ʾAbū Ḥayyān has said: "The difference between the voice (*ṣawt*) of unrest (*qalqala*) and the voice (*ṣawt*) of the [15a] lax (*riḫwa*) consonants is that the former occurs only in a pause (*waqf*), whereas the latter occurs both in liaison and pause". End of quotation. And if you say: "According to what you say with regard to the interpretation of 'pause' as 'quiescence', the meaning of ʾAbū Ḥayyān's words 'in liaison' are in contrast with 'quiescence', and refer to vocalization (*taḥarruk*), so that laxity (*raḫāwa*) can occur both with a vocalized [consonant] and a quiescent one. And this is in contrast with your quotation from Sībawayhi that laxity (*raḫāwa*) is in the state of quiescence [only]". We say: what is understood from the books of morphologists and *Qurʾān* readers is that laxity (*raḫāwa*) means softness (*līn*) and admitting the flow of the voice (*ṣawt*) through softening (*talyīn*), so softness (*līn*) exists in both situations, but it is tested by letting the voice (*ṣawt*) flow in the state of quiescence, just like the tender branch whose tenderness is tested by checking its elasticity. Moreover, according to the words of ar-Raḍī, all the vocalized consonants have a certain extent of laxity (*raḫāwa*), namely the twenty-eight [consonants]. He has said: "In testing the plosives (*aš-šadīda*) and the lax ones (*ar-riḫwa*) one only takes into consideration the quiescent state of these consonants, because if they are vocalized—and the vowels are parts of *wāw*, *ʾalif* and *yāʾ*, and possess some degree of laxity (*raḫāwa*)—the vowels, because of their close connection with the plosive consonant, cause some laxity (*raḫāwa*), so the plosion is not evident. Let us turn back to the conclusion, and we ask the Merciful for a good conclusion. Al-Maqdisī has said: "But for the point of articulation of the *ḍad* [15b] and the extension (*istiṭāla*), the *ḍād* would become a raised (*mušāla*) *ḏāʾ*". And this is undoubtedly a clear falsehood and ignorance. How can a sound be created which has neither an articulator nor a point of articulation? It is contradicted by the words of Sībawayhi: "Without the covering (*ʾiṭbāq*) of *ḍād*, it would go out of speech". So it is more appropriate that the point of articulation in which there is magnitude (*kammiyya*) and firmness should disappear.

So follow the way of the predecessors *in whatever there is unanimity or controversy* and follow the righteous ones among the pre-

decessors* and avoid the heretic innovation of the successors* for all the goodness is in following the predecessors* and all evil is in the heretic innovation of the successors*

The best prayer and greeting upon the merciful compassionate Prophet and his family and his companions and those who follow their right guidance and those who follow those who followed

It was written by the poor ʾAḥmad b. ʾAbī Bakr
May God forgive him and his parents
And his sheikhs and the Moslems
Praise to God
The Lord of all Being

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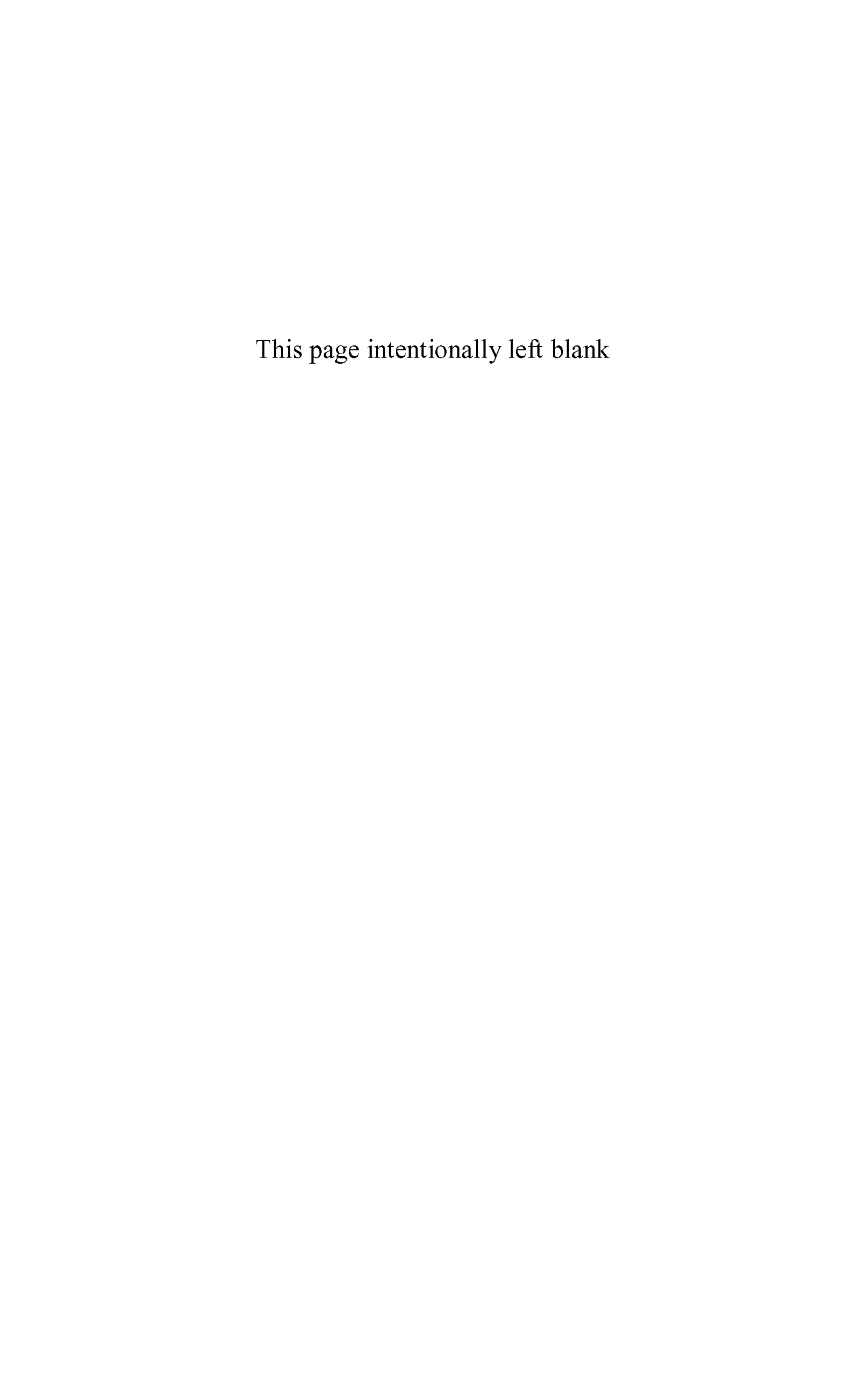
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رسـالـة
فـي
كيفية النطق بالضاد

تأليف

علي بن سليمان المنصوري

(المتوفى ١١٣٤هـ/١٧٢٢م)


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(١ /ب) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله وصلى الله على نبيّه ومصطفاه[1] وآله وصحبه ومن والاه. أما بعد[2] فإني لما أكملت هذه المقدمة وأقمت الحجة على تواتر الضاد الصحيحة وإبطال الضاد الضعيفة المعجمة اطلعت على رسالة منسوبة إلى علي بن غانم المقدسي الحنفي سماها «بغية المرتاد لتصحيح الضاد» وهي أحق بأن تسمى بغية الفساد بالابتداع بالضاد، وحرْقُها بالنار أولى من أن يكون لها اعتبار. وأظن أن نسبتها إلى علي المقدسي غير صحيحة، وإنما نسبها إليه بعض المبتدعين ليضل بها الجاهلين.[3] وإن صح نسبتها إليه فهي[4] من المبتدعة وكل بدعة ضلالة، فلن نتبعه. وجميع أدلته على تحريف النطق بالضاد بناها على زعمه الفاسد، والمبني على الفاسد فاسد، وكم في زعمه من مفاسد، وأعوذ بالله من شر كل حاسد فإنه زعم «أن أصل هذه المسألة أن الناس ينطقون

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[1] نفس الكلمات في بداية رسالة في كيفية النطق بالضاد لعلي المنصوري، راجع Ghazi Husrav-Bey Catalogue I/p. 100, no. 2626/8 وبواسطة نسخة الافتتاح المقتبسة في فهرس المخطوطات في مكتبة سراييفو استطعت أن أثبت العنوان والمؤلف لمخطوطة Daiber II: 100 قبل أن استلمت النسخة المصوّرة لمخطوطة سراييفو. وبفضل التعاون الكريم من جانب هذه المكتبة، وخاصة مديرها مصطفى ياهج، فقد استطعت من تحقيق إثباتي لهذه المخطوطة بصورة نهائية.

[2] زيد في سراييفو ٧٤/ب: «أما بعد فيقول الفقير عليّ وهو المنصوري متوكلا على العليّ القدير: لما أكملت من هذه المقدّمة...».

[3] سقط من سرايفو: «ليضل بها الجاهلين».

[4] في الأصل: «فهو».

٢ رسالة في كيفية النطق بالضاد (دايبر)

بالضاد ممزوجة بالدال المفخمة والطاء المهملة»[٥] (٢/أ) وهذا لعمري افتراء على جميع الناس من تزيين الوسواس الخناس، فإنا ننطق بها ضادا خالصة وهذا هو نطق الخاصّة[٦] لم تمزج بدال ولا طاء وليست بين الضاد والظاء وليس في لغة العرب دال مفخمة. ولو كانت لقال القراء يجب الاحتراز[٧] عن الدال المفخمة، وقول الجهال ضال مكان دال تحريف في المقال كقولهم «هلال» في «حلال».

ثم زعم هذا القائل «أن اللفظ بالضاد كالظاء المعجمة هو المقبول»،[٨] وهذا تهافت منه في القول والمقول لأنه اعترف بالضاد الخالصة والظاء الخالصة وابتدع بينهما حرفا، فصارت الحروف ثلاثين. وبالإجماع لا تزيد الحروف الأصول على التسعة والعشرين. ومعنى الضاد كالظاء أنها بين الضاد والظاء، وهذه هي الضاد الضعيفة العجمية[٩] مستهجنة في اللغة العربية مستقبحة في الأداء لا تجوز بها القراءة والإقراء[١٠]. وليس له فيما اخترعه سند يستند إليه ولا شيخ يعول عليه، ومن لا شيخ له فشيخه الشيطان. وقول الإمام الشافعي على ذلك برهان:[١١] العلم ما كان فيه «قال حدثنا»، وما سوى ذلك (٢/ب)

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[٥] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٤٤، ٢٧١.

[٦] في الأصل: «الخاصيّة» وفوقها علامة الشطب، وفي سرايبفو: «الخالصة».

[٧] في الأصل: «الاحتزاز».

[٨] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧١. في بغية المرتاد (٢١/ب): «ولم يتعرضوا لأحكام من يبدلها به، فلولا الاشتباه بينهما لما كانوا يفعلون ذلك».

[٩] هكذا في الأصل، وفي سرايبفو «المعجمة».

[١٠] في سرايبفو: «ولا الإقراء».

[١١] سقط من سرايبفو: «برهان».

وسواس الشياطين. وقال العراقي: التبصرة والأخذ من أقوالهم، لا الكتب أدفع للتصحيف، فاسمع وادأب. وأنشد أبو حيان: [من الوافر]

إذا رمت العلوم بغير شيخ ضللت عن الطريق المستقيم

وتلتبس الأمور عليك حتى تصير أضل من توما الحكيم

وعلى فرض وقوع بعض الناس في الغلط فقد سقط في أهجن مما نسبه إليهم وأقوى شططا. قالوا: يجب أن يقال: لا يجوز النطق بها بين الدال والطاء وإنما ينطق بها ضادا خالصة لا ضادا كالظاء.

ثم ذكر أدلة على ما اخترعه وكلها شاهدة للضاد الصحيحة لا المبتدعة. منها أن علماء هذا الفن «بينوا الألفاظ التي تقرأ بالظاء والتي تقرأ بالضاد. فلولا التشابه بينهما لفظا[١٢] لما بينوا». وهذا لا يثبت مدعاه، إذ يكفي التشابه في الصفات على أن التشابه في الرسم معلوم. قال الجعبري: ولا مخالفة في الرسم إلا في تطويل رأس الظاء على الضاد، لأن الضاد رسم برأس معوج.

ثم استدل على ما ابتدعه بأن «الضاد ليست في لغة الترك بل هي مخصوصة بالعربية»[١٣]، وهذه الضاد – يعني (٣/أ) الصحيحة – ثابتة في لغة الترك. قلت: الصواب أن الضاد الصحيحة المتواترة مخصوصة بالعرب، وأن الذين صحبناهم من أهل الروم استعملوا الرياضة فنطقوا بلحون العرب ﴿يَزيد في

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[١٢] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢، وفي بغية المرتاد: «فيا ليت شعري لولا التشابه بينهما لفظا والالتباس حتى خفي الفرق بينهما على الكثير من الناس لما كان هذا الجمّ الغفير يتعبون القلم ويسوّدون القرطاس».

[١٣] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢، وفي بغية المرتاد (٢١/ب): «الثاني في أن الضاد ليست في لغة الترك بل مخصوصة باللغة العربيّة».

الخَلْق ما يشاء ﴾[١٤] ﴿ ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء ﴾.[١٥]

وأما قوله: «الحرف الذي يشبه الدال المفخمة والطاء المهملة الذي ينطق به[١٦] أكثر المصريين»[١٧] فهو سفه منه[١٨] وافتراء وبهتان مبين. فلعله رأى بعض الجهال ينطقون[١٩] بها كما قال، فافترى على أكثرهم بهذا الافتراء واتبع الجدال والمراء.

ثم قال:[٢٠] «ان الفقهاء تعرضوا لأحكام[٢١] من يبدل الضاد ظاء،[٢٢] فلولا التشابه لما ذكروا»[٢٣]. قلت: لا يلزم من ذلك أن يقرأ بالضاد الضعيفة المستهجنة وتترك الضاد الصحيحة المستحسنة، والنطق بالضاد مفوض إلى القراء العالمين بطرق الأداء.

ثم قال: «إن بعض العلماء وصفها بالتفشي، ولا تفشي فيها».[٢٤] قلت: قال

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[١٤] سورة الفاطر (٣٥) الآية ١.

[١٥] سورة المائدة (٥) الآية ٥٤ (وكذلك في سورة الحديد ٢١ وسورة الجمعة ٤).

[١٦] في بغية المرتاد (٢١/ب): «بها».

[١٧] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢.

[١٨] في سراييفو: «منه سفه».

[١٩] في سراييفو: «ينطق».

[٢٠] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية.

[٢١] في الدراسات الصوتية: «ذكروا أحكام».

[٢٢] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «ولم يتعرضوا لأحكام من يبدلها بحرف غير الظاء، كما تعرضوا لأحكام من يبدلها به».

[٢٣] في الدراسات الصوتية: «فلولا التشابه بينهما لما كانوا يفعلون ذلك». وفي سراييفو: «لما تعرّضوا له». وفيه زيادة: «قلت: هذا الاستدلال أوهنُ من بيت العنكبوت لمن له في التحصيل أدنى ثبوت إذ لا يلزم من ذلك...».

مكي:[٢٥] التفشي انتشار خروج الريح وانبساطه حتى يتخيل أن الشين انفرشت حتى لحقت بمخرج الطاء. وقد ذكر بعضهم الضاد في هذا[٢٦] المعنى لاستطالتها لما اتصلت بمخرج اللام.[٢٧]

(٣/ب) ثم قال:[٢٨] «إن من صفاتها النفخ،[٢٩] ولا يتحقق[٣٠] إلا في الضاد الشبيهة بالظاء». قلنا:[٣١] النفخ إخراج الريح من الفم، وفي الضاد الصحيحة[٣٢] شبه النفخ لا النفخ. قال أبو حيان: قال أبو الحسن بن عصفور وأخذه من كلام ابن جني:[٣٣] والحروف المشربة الظاء والذال والضاد والزاء.[٣٤]

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[٢٤] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢.

[٢٥] لفظ الرعاية ١٣٥: «ومعنى «التفشّي» هو كثرة انتشار خروج الريح بين اللسان والحنك وانبساطه في الخروج عند النطق بها. وقد ذكر بعض العلماء الضاد مع الشين، وقال: الشين تتفشى في الفم حتى تتصل بمخرج الظاء، والضاد تتفشى حتى تتصل بمخرج اللام».

[٢٦] في الأصل: «هذه»، وفي سرابيفو (٧٥/ب): «في هذا المعنى».

[٢٧] زيد في سرابيفو: «قال الجعبري: والتحقيق أن الضاد انتشر بمخرجه وزال بصوته. انتهى. وعلم منه أن الاستطالة راجعة ألى المخرج لا إلى الصوت».

[٢٨] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢.

[٢٩] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «ويشاركها فيه الظاء والذال والزاي»، وكذلك أيضا في بغية المرتاد (٢١/ب).

[٣٠] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «ذلك».

[٣١] زيد في سرابيفو: «النفخ صوت يلحقها عند الوقف يشبه النفخ».

[٣٢] سقط من سرابيفو: «الصحيحة».

[٣٣] راجع ابن جني ٦٣/١. وفي سرابيفو: «قال أبو الفتح عثمان بن جني».

[٣٤] في الأصل: «والراء»، وفي ابن عصفور ٦٧٥/٢ زيدت الراء على الأربعة المشربة. والإثبات من سيبويه ٢٨٤/٢ وابن جني ٦٣/١.

والمشرب حرف يخرج معه عند الوقف عليه نحو النفخ إلا أنه لم يضغط ضغط المقلقل. ألا ترى أنك تسمع في الوقف عليها نبرة؟[٣٥] وإنما تظهر هذه النبرة في الوقف، فإن وصلت لم تكن، لأنك أخرجت اللسان عنها إلى صوت آخر. فأما حروف الهمس فإن الصوت معها نفس وليس من الصدر.[٣٦] وجميع الحروف التي تسمع معها في الوقف صوتا – متى أدرجتها ووصلتها زال ذلك الصوت، لأن أخذك في صوت آخر وحروف سوى ذلك[٣٧] يشغلك عن اتباع الحرف الأول صوتا نحو[٣٨] خذه، وحزه، واحفظه، واخفضه.[٣٩] انتهى. والنبر: أن تسمع شيئا من الكلمة الخفيفة، كما في القاموس.[٤٠]

ثم قال: والضاد قد تجعلها العرب في قوافي الشعر في مقابلة الظاء، ولا يكون إلا إذا تقاربت الحروف كقوله: [من الرجز]

كأنّ أصوات القطا المنقـ[ضّ][٤١] (٤/أ) بالليل[٤٢] أصوات الحصى المنقزّ

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[٣٥] لفظ الرعاية ١٢٤: «وإنما سمّيت (حروف القلقلة) بذلك لظهور صوت يشبه النبرة عند الوقف عليهن وإرادة إتمام النطق بهن، فذلك الصوت في الوقف عليهن أبين منه في الوصل بهن».

[٣٦] راجع شرحا مشابها في شرح شافية ابن الحاجب ٢٥٨/٣.

[٣٧] في سرايبفو: «في حرف سوى الأول».

[٣٨] في سرايبفو: «وذلك نحو قولك».

[٣٩] في سرايبفو: «واحفضه واحفظه»، وفيه زيادة: «إلا أنك مع ذلك لا تحصر الصوت عندها حصرك إياه مع الهمزة والعين والغين واللام والنون والميم».

[٤٠] سقط من سرايبفو: «والنبر: أن تسمع شيئا من الكلمة الخفيفة، كما في القاموس». وفيه: «وهذا صريح في أن صوت الرخاوة لا يظهر إلا في الوقف. وفي القاموس: انسل وتسلل: انطلق في استخفاء».

[٤١] مطموس في الأصل، والإثبات من سرايبفو (٧٦/أ) ومن أدب الكاتب ٤٩٠.

والضاد بعيدة عن الزاي والقريب منها [٤٣]هي الضاد الشبيهة بالظاء. قلنا: [٤٤] كما يكون اختلاف الروي بالقريب يكون بالبعيد.[٤٥] قال الدماميني[٤٦] في شرح الخزرجية إن حرف الروي متى قرن بحرف آخر مخالف له مقارب له في المخرج فهو الإكفاء كقوله: [من الرجز]

يا ابن الزبير طال ‹ما›[٤٧] عصيتَا[٤٨] وطال ما عنّيتَنا إليكا

جمع بين الكاف والتاء وهما متقاربان في المخرج.[٤٩] وتقارب الضاد الصحيحة للزاي في المخرج كتقارب الكاف للتاء فيه. وإن قرن حرف الروي بما هو بعيد منه في المخرج فهو الإجازة كقوله:[٥٠] [من الطويل]

خليليّ سِيرَا واتْرُكَا الرَّحْلَ إنّني بمَهْلَكة والعاقباتُ تدورُ

فبيناه يَشْري رَحْلَهُ قال قائلٌ لِمَنْ جَمَلٌ رِخْوُ المِلاط[٥١] نجيبُ

الاقتضاب ٣/٣٠٢، خزانة الأدب ١١/٣٢٤.

[٤٢] في الأصل: «باليل».

[٤٣] في سرايفو: «والقريب فيها».

[٤٤] زيد في سرايفو: «قد اشتغل بما ليس فيه عبرة من ضيق العطن (؟)».

[٤٥] في سرايفو: «بالبعيدة».

[٤٦] في الأصل: «الدماميني»، والإثبات من بغية الوعاة ١/٦٧.

[٤٧] ساقط في الأصل، مما يخل بالوزن. والإثبات من سرايفو ومن خزانة الأدب ٤/٤٢٨.

[٤٨] في خزانة الأدب: «عصيكا»، وراجع البحث هناك عن إبدال الكاف من التاء. وفي سرايفو: «أعطيتا».

[٤٩] راجع خزانة الأدب ٤/٤٢٩-٤٣٠.

[٥٠] خزانة الأدب ٥/٢٥٩، وفيه: «سمعت الباء مع اللام والميم والراء، كل هذا في قصيدة واحدة».

فبين الراء[٥٢] والباء تباعد في المخرج.

ثم قال:[٥٣] إنهم ذكروا من صفاتها الاستطالة،[٥٤] ولا استطالة في الطائية[٥٥]. قلنا: قوله الطائية افتراء منه على حملة القرآن المصريّة. ومعنى الاستطالة الامتداد من أول حافة اللسان إلى آخرها كما قال الجعبري. وقال الرضي: ويقال للضاد طويل لأنه من أقصى الحافة إلى أدنى الحافة (٤/ب) فاستغرق أكثر الحافة. وقال أبو شامة: قال مكي:[٥٦] والاستطالة تمدد عند بيان الضاد للجهر والإطباق والاستعلاء،[٥٧] وتمكنها[٥٨] من أول حافة اللسان إلى منتهى طرفه، فاستطالت بذلك فلحقت مخرج اللام. انتهى. وهذا يفيد أن الاستطالة إعطاء هذه الصفات الثلاثة [هكذا!] حقها مع تمكنها من مخرجها وبها يفرق بين الضاد والظاء. ولا يقال إنها مشتركة مع الضاد في

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[٥١] في الأصل وفي سرايبفو: «المناط»، والتصحيح من خزانة الأدب ٢٥٧/٥.

[٥٢] في الأصل الزاء، وفوقه علامة الشطب.

[٥٣] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٢.

[٥٤] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «كما مر ذكرها ومعناها، وهي المميزة لها عن الظاء» ونفس الزيادة في بغية المرتاد (٢٧/ب).

[٥٥] في الدراسات الصوتية وفي بغية المرتاد: «ولا يوجد في الضاد الطائية الاستطالة»، وبصدد الضاد الطائية راجع فهرس المصطلحات.

[٥٦] لفظ الرعاية ١٣٤: «الحرف المستطيل وهو الضاد، سميت بذلك لأنها استطالت على الفم عند النطق بها، حتى اتصلت بمخرج اللام، وذلك لما اجتمع فيها من القوة بالجهر والإطباق والاستعلاء فقويت واستطالت في الخروج من مخرجها حتى اتصلت باللام لقرب مخرج اللام من مخرجها».

[٥٧] في الأصل: «والاستعالى».

[٥٨] في الأصل: «ونمكنها».

الصفات الثلاثة [هكذا !]، لأن الضاد أقوى من الظاء في الجهر والإطباق والاستعلاء.[٥٩] والفرق بين المستطيل والممدود أن المستطيل جرى في مخرجه والممدود جرى في نفسه،[٦٠] أي ذاته، أي معتبرا جريانه في ذاته لا في مخرجه. فلا يقال فيه ظرفية الشيء في نفسه [؟]. واعلم أنه يتراءى التنافي بين الاستطالة والإطباق، ففي الاستطالة امتداد الصوت وفي الإطباق انحصاره. قال الجاربردي:[٦١] والحروف المطبقة ما ينطبق اللسان معه على الحنك[٦٢] فينحصر الصوت حينئذ[٦٣] بين[٦٤] اللسان وما حاذاه من الحنك.[٦٥] وقال سيبويه:[٦٦] والحروف المطبقة إذا وضعت (٥/أ) لسانك في مواضعهن انطلق لسانك من مواضعهن إلى ما حاذى الحنك الأعلى من اللسان ترفعه إلى

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[٥٩] سقط من سرايیفو من «قال الرضي» إلى «والفرق بين المستطيل والممدود».

[٦٠] في سرايیفو: «في نفسه بسكون الفاء أي ذاته».

[٦١] راجع مجموعة الشافية ٢٤١/٢، وفيه: «والحروف المطبقة ما ينطبق على مخرجه الحنك الأعلى واللسان فينحصر الصوت حينئذ من اللسان وما حاذاه من الحنك الأعلى وهي أربعة: الصاد والضاد، والطاء، والظاء. وهي في الحقيقة اسم متجوز فيها لأن المطبق هو اللسان والحنك. وأما الحرف فهو مطبق عنده فاختصر فقيل مطبق، كما قيل للمشترك فيه مشترك، ومثله كثير في اللغة والاصطلاح. والحروف المنفتحة بخلافها، فلا ينحصر الصوت عند النطق بها بين اللسان والحنك، بل يكون ما بين اللسان والحنك منفتحا، وهي كالمطبقة في التسمية، لأن الحرف لا ينفتح، وإنما ينفتح عنده اللسان عن الحنك».

[٦٢] في الجاربردي ٣٤٢/١: «الحنك الأعلى».

[٦٣] في الأصل: «جينيك».

[٦٤] في الجاربردي ٢٤١/٢: «من». وفي الجاربردي ٣٤٢/١: «بين».

[٦٥] في الجاربردي ٢٤١/٢ وفي سرايیفو: «الحنك الأعلى».

[٦٦] سيبويه، ٤٠٦/٢.

الحنك. فإذا وضعت لسانك فالصوت محصور فيما بين اللسان والحنك إلى موضع الحروف. وأما الدال والزاي ونحوهما فإنما ينحصر الصوت إذا وضعت لسانك في مواضعهن، فهذه الأربعة لها موضعان من اللسان، وقد بُيِّن ذلك بحصر الصوت. انتهى. ويؤخذ منه الجواب بأنه عند انطلاق اللسان من موضع الضاد إلى الحنك الأعلى يمتد الصوت[٦٧] في ابتداء الوضع، وعند[٦٨] تمام الوضع ينحصر الصوت. وبعضهم أجاب[٦٩] باحتمال أن تكون استطالتها عند الإسكان وانحصار الصوت عند التحرك، لأنها عند التحرك مجهورة فلا يجري النفس فينحصر الصوت. وعند الإسكان رخوة قابلة لجري الصوت فيظهر امتداد الصوت. على أن الاستطالة صفة ذاتية للضاد لا تحصل إلا بها، ولذلك لم يذكرها سيبويه وأكثر النحويين اكتفاء بذكر المخرج.

ثم قال:[٧٠] «إن من صفاتها الرخاوة».[٧١] قلت: المفهوم (٥/ب) من كلامهم

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[٦٧] في سرايبفو (٧٦/ب): «يجري الصوت».

[٦٨] في الأصل: «وعنده»، وفي سرايبفو: «وعند».

[٦٩] في سرايبفو: «وبعضهم أجاب باحتمال أن يكون استطالتها عند الإسكان لا عند التحرك لجريان النفَس عند التحرك لأنها عند التحرك مجهورة يمتنع معها جريان النفَس فالصوت محصور، وعند الإسكان رخوة فيجري الصوت. والاستطالة ذاتية للضاد ولا تحصل كميتها إلا بها ولذلك لم يذكرها سيبويه في الكتاب اكتفاءً بذكر المخرج ولا ابن جني في سر الصناعة ولا ابن مالك في تسهيله ولا ابن الحاجب في شافيته. شفانا الله من الابتداع ووفقنا للعمل الصالح والاتّباع».

[٧٠] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٣.

[٧١] في سرايبفو: «إن من صفاتها الرخاوة إلى آخر ما ذكر. قلت: الرخاوة اللين وقبول جري الصوت عند التسكين وضادنا المتواترة لينة، سواء تحركت أو سكنت. وعند السكون قابلة للتليين وأيضا الإطباق يقتضي حصر الصوت فيحمل حصر الصوت على حال التحرك وقبول جري الصوت على حال السكون. قال الشاطبي:

أن الرخاوة هي اللين وقبول جري الصوت. والضاد الصحيحة لينة، تحركت أو سكنت، ويمتحن لينها بإجراء الصوت حال السكون، على أن الإطباق يقتضي حصر الصوت فيحمل على حال التحرك، وإجراءُ الصوت حالَ السكون. قال الشاطبي:[٧٢]

[فمهموسها عَشْرٌ (حَثَتْ كِسْفَ شَخْصِهِ)]

(أجَدّتْ كَقُطْبٍ) للشديدة مُثِّلاَ

وما بين رَخْوٍ والشديدة (عَمْرُنَلْ) و(وايٌ) حروفُ المدِّ والرخوَ كَمَّلاَ

أي الحروف الثلاثة حروف المدّ وهي من الرخوة عنده. وقال سيبويه وغيره إنها بين الرخو والشديد فتصير ثمانية يجمعها لِمَ يَروعنا أو لم يَرعَونا ولم يُروّعنا أو لم يَروِ عنا أو ولينا عمر.[٧٣] قال الرضي:[٧٤] أخذ[٧٥] من كلام سيبويه وإنما جعل حروف لم يروعنا بين الشديدة والرخوة،[٧٦] لأن الشديدة هي التي ينحصر الصوت في مواضعها عند الوقف، وهذه[٧٧] الأحرف الثمانية ينحصر

أجَدَّتْ كقُطْبٍ للشديدة مُثِّلا

وما بين رَخوٍ والشديدة عَمْرُ نَلْ وواي حروفُ المدِّ والرخوَ كَمَّلا

أمر الحروف الثلاثة حروف المد، وهي من الرخوة عند القُرّاء. قال سيبويه والنحويون: إنها بين الرخوة والشديدة فتصير ثمانية يجمعها لم يُروَ عَنا ولم يَرْعُونا ولم يروِ عنّا ولم يروّعنا أو ولينا عمر».

[٧٢] إبراز المعاني ٧٥١ (رقم ١١٥٣)، شرح شعلة ٦٤٤.

[٧٣] كتب فوق السطر بخط مختلف.

[٧٤] كتب فوق السطر بخط مختلف.

[٧٥] في سراييفو: «أخذا من كلام سيبويه»، وراجع كلام الرضي في شرح شافية ابن الحاجب ٣، ٢٦٠.

[٧٦] في سراييفو: «الرخوة والشديدة».

الصوت في مواضعها عند الوقف، لكن تعرض لها أعراض توجب خروج الصوت من غير مواضعها. أما العين فينحصر الصوت عند مخرجه، لكن لقربه من الحاء التي هي مهموسة ينسل صوته شيئا قليلا فكأنك (٦/أ) وقفت على الحاء. وأما اللام فمخرجها أعني طرف اللسان[٧٨] لا يتجافى عن موضعه من الحنك[٧٩] عند النطق به، فلا يجري منه صوت. لكنه لما لم يستد[٨٠] طريق الصوت بالكلّيّة كالدال والتاء، بل انحرف طرف اللسان عند النطق به، خرج الصوت عند النطق به من مستدقّ اللسان فويق مخرجه. وأما الميم[٨١] والنون فإن الصوت لا يخرج من موضعها[٨٢] من الفم، لكن لما كان لهما مخرجان: في الفم وفي الخيشوم، جرى الصوت[٨٣] من الأنف دون الفم، لأنك الو[٨٤] أمسكت أنفك لم يجر الصوت بهما. وأما الراء فلم يجر الصوت بابتداء[٨٥] النطق به، لكنه جرى شيئا لانحرافه وميله إلى اللام، كما قلنا في العين المائلة إلى الحاء. وأيضا الراء مكررة،[٨٦] فإذا تكرر جرى الصوت معه في

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٧٧ في سرايیفو: «وهي الأحرف الثمانية».

٧٨ في سرايیفو: «فمخرجها من طرف اللسان».

٧٩ في سرايیفو: «من الحنك الأعلى».

٨٠ في أسترباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «يسدّ».

٨١ في الأصل: «الليم».

٨٢ هكذا في الأصل، وفي سرايیفو (٧٧/أ) وأستـرباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «موضعيهما».

٨٣ في أستـرباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «جرى به الصوت».

٨٤ في أستـرباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «لو»، وفي سرايیفو: «لو».

٨٥ في أستـرباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «في ابتداء».

٨٦ في أستـرباذي، شرح الشافية ٣/٢٦١: «مكرر».

أثناء التكرير.[٨٧] وكذلك الواو والياء والألف، لا يجري الصوت معها كثيرا، لكن لمّا كان[٨٨] مخارجها تتسع لهواء الصوت أشدّ من اتساع غيرها من المجهورة كان الصوت معها يكثر فيجري منه شيء. انتهى.

قال أبو سعيد: هذه الثلاثة لاتساع مخارجها وأن الحركات (٦ /ب) منها، ولا يمد في الغناء وسائر الألحان حرف سواهن – كل واحدة منهن لها صوت في غير موضع مخرجها من الفم، فصارت مشبهة للرخوة بالصوت الذي يجري عند الوقف عليها. وهي تشبه الشديدة للزومها مواضعها.[٨٩] وليس الصوت فيها مثله في الرخوة، لأن الرخوة إنما صوتها الجاري عند الوقف من موضعها . انتهى.[٩٠] قال أبو حيان: قال أبو عمرو الصيرفي:[٩١] والفرق بين المجهور والشديد أن المجهور يقوى الاعتماد فيه، والشديد يقوى لزومه في موضعه، والرخو ضعُف الاعتماد عليه في موضعه عند التلفظ به، يجري معه الصوت، إذ لم يشتد لزومه لمخرجه كما لزمته الشديدة. والفرق بين المهموس

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[٨٧] في أستربادي، شرح الشافية ٢٦١/٣: «التكرر».

[٨٨] في أستربادي، شرح الشافية ٢٦١/٣: «كانت».

[٨٩] سقط من سراييفو: «مواضعها».

[٩٠] زيد في سراييفو: «فتبيَّنَ لكلٍّ بطلانُ دعوى المدعين الذين يستنبطون العلوم من الكتب بلا معين في قولهم: لو كانت الضاد المتواترة صحيحة لعُدّت من بين الجهر والشديد، وهذا زعم فاسد باطل غير شديد إذ معنى البينية[٩٠] عروض التصويت لا قلة التصويت ألا ترى أن الهاء عدت رخوة مع قلة التصويت وأن التصويت في الراء أكثر؟ وعدت من البينية لانحرافها إلى اللام والتكرير. وحروف المد قابلة لزيادة التطويل وهي من البينية عند سيبويه والخليل بل يفهم من كلام بعض القراء أن الضاد أقل رخاوة من الظاء».

[٩١] سقط من سراييفو من «قال أبو عمرو الصيرفي» إلى «كما لزمته الشديدة».

الشديد والمجهور الرخو أن اللفظ بالأول ينصرم ويجري بعد انصرام لفظه النفس، إذا قلت: أك أت. واللفظ بالثاني لا ينصرم ما دام الصوت جاريا، إذا قلت: أظ أذ.

ثم قال:[٩٢] «إن هذا الحرف صعب على اللسان» إلى أن قال: «وأنت ترى أن لا صعوبة في الضاد الطائية، بل هي في غاية السهولة على اللسان». قلنا: قوله (٧/أ) الطائية افتراء على الطائفة المصرية. أما الضاد الصحيحة القوية فإنها صعبة على الطائفة الشامية[٩٣] والرومية كما شاهدناه في بلدة بلغراد وما والاها[٩٤] من البلاد فإنهم[٩٥] يتعسر عليهم النطق بالضاد.[٩٦] فأما حفظة مصر

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[٩٢] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٣. وفي سرايبفو (٧٧/أ-ب) زيادة قبل «ثم قال»: «والفرق بين صوت القلقلة وصوت الحروف الرخوة أن الأول لا يكون إلا في الوقف، والثاني يكون في الوصل والوقف انتهى. هذا لا ينافي ما سبق (٧٧/ب) في كلام سيبويه وغيره من أن الرخاوة تعلم بإجراء الصوت في الوقف كما توهم، لأن معنى الرخاوة اللين وقبول جري الصوت حال السكون، واللين موجود في حروفها وصلا ووقفا. ويمتحن بقبول جري الصوت عند السكون. وذلك كالغصن الرطب تمتحن رطوبته بالتليين. وبهذا أيضا يعلم الجواب عن قول أبي حيان: "ليس التكرير في الراء صفة ذاتية كالاستعلاء في حروف الاستعلاء وكالرخاوة في حروفها، فإن هذين لا ينفكان عن الحروف التي يكونان فيها في كل موضع". انتهى. فالمعرّض ظن أن الرخاوة ليست إلا عبارة عن إجراء الصوت فاخترع الضاد الضعيفة وأجرى بزعمه فيها الصوت. وقد قال ابن جني: جميع الحروف التي تسمع معها في الوقف صوتا، متى أدرجتها ووصلتها زال ذلك الصوت».

[٩٣] سقط من سرايبفو (٧٧/ب): «الشامية».

[٩٤] في الأصل: «والاها».

[٩٥] في سرايبفو: «فإنه».

[٩٦] زيد في سرايبفو: «بل سمعنا أن بعض قراء القسطنطينية يبالغ في إطباق النطوح بالضاد فتتجرد عنه الرخاوة، وهذا يجب الاحتراز عنه في التلاوة، بل

والقسطنطينية[٩٧] فإنهم ارتاضوا في النطق بالضاد الصحيحة فصارت لهم طبيعيّة[٩٨].

قال في المقدّمة [من الرجز]:

وليس بينه وبين تركهِ إلا رياضة امرئ[٩٩] بفكّهِ

وقوله[١٠٠]: قال سيبويه: إنها تتكلف من الجانبين افتراء على سيبويه، فإنه إنما قال ذلك في الضادالضعيفة لا في الضاد الصحيحة المعروفة.[١٠١]

ثم قال: إن المخرج المنصوص عليه للضاد[١٠٢] ليس إلا للضاد الشبيهة[١٠٣] بالظاء لا للطائية. قلنا: قوله الطائية افتراء منه[١٠٤]، ولقد[١٠٥] اختبرنا الضاد الخالصة الصحيحة فوجدنا الصوت ينتهي إلى حافة اللسان، واختبرنا الضاد الضعيفة فوجدنا الصوت ينتهي إلى طرف اللسان. ألا ترى إلى قول أبي سعيد

يجب النطوح بها خفيفة رخوة بحيث تقبل التليين عند التسكين، وهذا وجه صعوبة الضاد عند النقاد».

[٩٧] في الأصل: «والقسطنطنية».

[٩٨] في الأصل: «طبعبيّة».

[٩٩] غير واضح في الأصل، والإثبات من ٩/ب.

[١٠٠] زيد في سرايبفو: «وقوله في شرح عمدة المفيد: ولولا اختلاف المخرجين والرخاوة في الظاء لكانت ضادا لتقارب الصفات إلى زيادة الرخاوة ليوافق قول سيبويه تقول انقض أجريت فيها الصوت إن شئت. وقول سيبويه...».

[١٠١] سيبويه ٢/٤٠٤.

[١٠٢] سقط من سرايبفو: «للضاد».

[١٠٣] زيد في الهامش بخط مختلف: «ثم قال...الشبيهة».

[١٠٤] زيد في سرايبفو: «على حملة القرآن المصرية».

[١٠٥] في سرايبفو: «وقد»

السيرافي: الضاد الضعيفة ربما أخرجوها ظاء لإخراجهم إياها من طرف اللسان وأطراف الثنايا، وربما تكلفوا إخراجها من مخرج الضاد، فلم يتأتّ لهم (٧/ب) فخرجت بين الضاد والظاء. وضاد هذا المبتدع هي الضعيفة بلا اشتباه.

ثم قال:[١٠٦] فإن قيل: نحن نروي هذه الضاد الطائية[١٠٧] بالإسناد المتصل بأئمة القراءة البالغ إلى النبي ﷺ قلنا: لا عبرة بالرواية المخالفة للدراية إذ شرط[١٠٨] القراءة أن توافق العربية، وقد بينّا مخالفتها لما تواتر في كتب العربية والقراءات. قلت: قوله الطائية افتراء منه على الطائفة المصرية. ولا يخفى ما في هذا القول الشنيع من سوء الأدب على من له في علم الفقه أدنى طلب. وإنما قالوا: نحن نروي هذه الضاد الصحيحة التي أجمع أهل كل عصر على أنها مستحسنة فصيحة بطريق الإسناد الصحيح المتواتر المشهور عند الأوائل والأواخر المواصل إلى سيّد المرسلين عن جبريل الأمين عن ربّ العالمين. وهي بعض فاتحة الكتاب المأمور بقراءتها[١٠٩] كل صالح للخطاب. وإذا ثبت التواتر والنقل عنه ﷺ [١١٠] فكيف يسوغ مخالفة المنقول والعربية (٨/أ) تثبت بالقرآن العظيم وبكلام رسوله الكريم وكلام العرب العَرْباء أصحاب الطبع السليم؟ وما ادعاه من عربية الضاد المبتدعة نشأ عن فهمه السقيم. وكم من

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[١٠٦] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٣.

[١٠٧] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «بالمشافهة عن الشيوخ الراوين عن شيوخهم».

[١٠٨] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «قبول».

[١٠٩] في سرايبفو (٧٨/أ): «بتصحيح حروفها».

[١١٠] في سرايبفو: «عن رسول الله ﷺ».

عائب قولا صحيحا وافيه[١١١] من الفهم السقيم. ولا عبرة بالدراية السقيمة[١١٢] إذا خالفت الرواية المستقيمة. وهذه الضاد التي هي كالظاء هل نزل عليه بها ملك من السماء، أو شافهه بها العرب العرباء أو العالمون بالقراءة والأداء؟ قال الحافظ السيوطي في الكوكب الساطع في نظم جمع الجوامع:[١١٣] جاحدُ مجمع عليه عُلماء ضرورة في[١١٤] المدين (؟) ليس مسلما قطعا وفي الاظهر منصوص شهر والخلف في ما لم ينصّ المشتهر أصحة (؟) تكفيره خصوصا لا جاحد الخفي (؟) ولو منصوصا.[١١٥] ولا يقال ثبوت العربية بالقرآن واشتراط موافقة القرآن للعربية دوري، لأنا نقول: المراد بموافقة القرآن للعربية موافقته للقواعد المشتهرة بين النحويين[١١٦] المستنبطة من كلامه تعالى وكلام رسوله ﷺ (٨/ب) وكلام العرب العرباء السالفين، سواء كان أفصح أم فصيحا مجمعا عليه أو مختلفا فيه[١١٧] اختلافا لا يضر مثله[١١٨] على المختار عند المحققين. فلا عبرة بطعن الطاعنين المتفلسفين.

ثم قال:[١١٩] «إن من أوصافها الشجرية، لقبها بها[١٢٠] الخليل.[١٢١] ولا ينافى

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[١١١] في الأصل: «وافته».

[١١٢] في سرايیفو: «بالرواية السقيمة».

[١١٣] راجع بروكلمان ملحق ١٠٦/٢.

[١١٤] زيد «في» فوق السطر.

[١١٥] سقط من سرايیفو من «قال الحافظ السيوطي» إلى «ولو منصوصا».

[١١٦] في الأصل: «النحوين».

[١١٧] في سرايیفو: «المشتهرة بين النحويين والصرفيين المستنبط من كلامه تعالى وكلام رسوله ﷺ وكلام العرب السالفين سواء كان فصيحا أم أفصح».

[١١٨] راجع النشر ١٠/١.

ذلك[١٢٢] إلا إذا كانت شبيهة بالظاء – يعني الضاد الضعيفة[١٢٣] – فإن الضاد الطائية تخرج من طرف اللسان لا من شجر الفم». قلت: قد افترى على المصريين في نسبته إليهم الضاد الطائية، وإنما ضادهم ضاد صحيحة، مخرجها عند سيبويه[١٢٤] من بين أول حافة اللسان وما يليها[١٢٥] من الأضراس، وعند الخليل من مخرج الجيم والشين،[١٢٦] فهي عنده سادّة[١٢٧] شجر اللسان[١٢٨] وما يقابله، والشجر منفتح الفم.

ثم قال:[١٢٩] «قولهم:[١٣٠] لولا الإطباق لصارت الطاء دالا، والصاد سينا، والظاء ذالا، ولخرجت الضاد من الكلام[١٣١] يخص الضاد الشبيهة بالظاء – يعني

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[١١٩] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٤.

[١٢٠] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «صاحب القدر الجليل إمام النحو».

[١٢١] كتاب العين ٥٨/١.

[١٢٢] في بغية المرتاد (٢٩/أ): «ولا ينكر ذلك إلاّ إذا كانت شبيهة بالطاء». وفي سراييفو: «ولا ينافي ذلك إلا إذا كانت شبيهة بالظاء».

[١٢٣] ساقط في الدراسات الصوتية.

[١٢٤] سيبويه ٤٠٥/٢.

[١٢٥] في سيبويه: «يليه».

[١٢٦] كتاب العين ٥٨/١.

[١٢٧] زيد «سادة» فوق السطر.

[١٢٨] في سراييفو (٧٨/ب): «فهي عنده من شجر اللسان وما يقابله».

[١٢٩] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٤.

[١٣٠] سيبويه ٤٠٦/٢. وزيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «في صفة الإطباق».

[١٣١] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «إذ لا يخرج من موضعها غيرها. وهذا نص كلام الأستاذ أبي حيان في شرح التسهيل، ومثله في شرح المفصل لابن يعيش (١٢٩/١٠) وهذا كما ترى».

الضاد الضعيفة.[١٣٢] أما الطائية فتخرج من مخرجها[١٣٣] الحروف الثلاثة النطعيّة، فلو كانت الطائية عربية لوصفت بالنطعية،[١٣٤] ولولا الإطباق لصارت[١٣٥] دالا. قلت: هذا بناه على ما افتراه على المصريين من الطائية (٩/أ) وتقدم لك أن هذا كلام سيبويه. وكان لم يسمع بكتاب سيبويه، فنسبه إلى أبي حيان. وتقدم لك أن هذا الكلام[١٣٦] يصحح الضاد المتواترة[١٣٧] الصحيحة ويبطل ضادهم الضعيفة المستهجنة القبيحة.[١٣٨]

ثم قال:[١٣٩] «إن أهل مكة[١٤٠] وما والاها من[١٤١] الحجاز[١٤٢] إنما ينطقون بالضاد شبيهة بالظاء المعجمة».[١٤٣] قلت: هذه دعوى مفتراة غير مسلمة.[١٤٤] فإني

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[١٣٢] ساقط في الدراسات الصوتية.

[١٣٣] في الدراسات الصوتية: «من مخارج الحروف النطعية، كما يشهد به الحس والقاعدة المعروفة في معرفة مخرج الحرف».

[١٣٤] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «كما وصفت أخواتها ولقالوا»

[١٣٥] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «الضاد».

[١٣٦] في الأصل: «الكلا».

[١٣٧] في الأصل: «المتوارة».

[١٣٨] في سرايفو: «وتقدم لك أن هذا كلام سيبويه وأنه صريح في تصحيح الضاد المتواترة الصحيحة وإبطال ضادهم الضعيفة المستهجنة».

[١٣٩] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٤.

[١٤٠] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «التي هي منشأ النبي ﷺ الذي هو سيد العرب».

[١٤١] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «بلاد».

[١٤٢] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «التي هي محل العرب وموطنهم».

[١٤٣] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «ولا يسمع من أحد منهم هذه الطائية، وهم نعم المقتدى لمن رام في هذا السبيل الاهتداء».

٢. رسالة في كيفية النطق بالضاد (دايبر)

دخلت مكّة[١٤٥] وسمعت منهم الضاد الصحيحة الحسنة، ولم أسمع من أحد منهم هذه الضاد الضعيفة المستهجنة. وكذلك أخبرنا من جاور مكّة المشرفة أنه لم يسمع من أهل الحجاز هذه الضاد الضعيفة المحرفة.

ثم أتى صاحب هذه الرسالة بأبيات وعبارات وزعم أنها تدل صريحا على التلفظ بالضاد شبيهة بالظاء.[١٤٦] ونحن [نقول][١٤٧] كلها تدل على تميز الضاد من الظاء، كقول بعضهم [من الرجز]:

والضاد والظاء لقرب المخرج قد يؤذنان بالتباس المنهج

وقد للتقليل. وكقوله [من الرجز]:

ويكثر التباسها بالضادِ إلاّ على الجهابذ النقّادِ[١٤٨]

ونحن إن شاء الله رب العباد من الجهابذة النقاد. وكقول السخاوي: [من الرجز]:[١٤٩]

ميّزْهُ بالإيضاح عن ظاء ففي ﴿أضللن﴾[١٥٠] أو في ﴿غيضَ﴾[١٥١] يُشْبهانِ[١٥٢]

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[١٤٤] في سرايبفو: «هذه دعوى باطلة مفتراة غير مسلمة».

[١٤٥] زيد «مكة» فوق السطر.

[١٤٦] في سرايبفو: «الشبيهة بالظاء».

[١٤٧] مطموس في الأصل، والإثبات من سرايبفو.

[١٤٨] فيه إشارة إلى قول الشاطبي في حرز الأماني ٢٨٧:

وهاكَ مَوازينَ الحروفِ وما حَكى جَهابذةُ النقّادِ فيها مُحَصِّلا

وراجع إبراز المعاني ٧٤٣ (١١٣٤)، شرح شعلة ٦٣٥، لطائف الإشارات ١٩٦/١.

[١٤٩] راجع جمال القراء ٥٤٥ (عمدة المفيد وعدّة المجيد في معرفة التجويد).

[١٥٠] سورة إبراهيم (١٤) الآية ٣٦.

[١٥١] سورة هود (١١) الآية ٤٤.

فأمر (٩/ب) بتمييزه عن الظاء، ولم يأمر بمزجه بالظاء. ومثله قوله: والضاد باستطالة ومخرج ميز من الظاء. وكذلك قول الجعبري: والظاء آخى الضاد في كل الحلى وبالاستطالة خولف الحرفان مع مخرج يدل على المخالفة لا المزج.[١٥٣] وكذلك قول ابن أم قاسم: اشتد شبهه له[١٥٤] وعسرت التفرقة بينهما، واحتيج إلي الرياضة التامة. قلنا: قد حصلت لنا الرياضة التامة كما قال العلامة ابن الجزري [من الرجز]:

وليس بينه وبين تركهِ إلاّ رياضة امرئ بفكّهِ

ومن يجود النطق بالرياضة حصلت له الرياضة.[١٥٥] وكذلك قول الشيخ أبي محمد بن أبي طالب وغيره يفيد اختلاف لفظي الضاد والظاء، لا مزج الضاد بالظاء. وقوله عن الرعاية:[١٥٦] «والظاء حرف مشبه[١٥٧] لفظه في السمع[١٥٨] لفظ

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[١٥٢] في الأصل وفي عمدة المفيد «يشتبهان»، مما يخل بالوزن.

[١٥٣] سقط من سرايبفو: «قول الجعبري».

[١٥٤] في سرايبفو : «شبهه به».

[١٥٥] سقطت هذه الجملة من سرايبفو.

[١٥٦] راجع الرعاية .٢٢.

[١٥٧] في الرعاية: «حرف يشبه لفظه».

[١٥٨] في الأصل: «السميع»، وفي سرايبفو (٧٨/ب-٧٩/أ): «وكذلك قول الجعبري: والضاد آخى (٧٩/أ) الظاء في كل الحُلى وبالاستطالة خولف الحرفان مع مخرج. الحُلى بضم الحاء جمع حلية بكسرها على غير قياس بمعنى الصفات، أي أشبه الضاد والظاء في الصفات لا في اللفظ، كقوله: وبالاستطالة خولف اللفظان مع مخرج واختلاف المخرج يدل على اختلاف اللفظ. وكقوله أيضا في قصيدته الواضحة في تجويد الفاتحة: وللضاد كالضلال جودة فارقاه بمخرجه مع وصفه المتعدد. والفرق بينهما يقتضي اختلاف لفظهما. وكقوله أيضا في قصيدته حدود الإتقان: والضاد واطى الظاء في اوصافه لا قربه فتعسر اللفظان فأشار بقوله لا قرب إلى بعد مخرج

الضاد» افتراه على الرعاية و[قول][١٥٩] الرعاية: ولولا اختلاف المخرجين وما في الضاد من الاستطالة لكان لفظهما واحدا ولم يختلفا في السمع.[١٦٠]

ثم ذكر هذا المبتدع[١٦١] عبارة التمهيد في قوله: وأما الضاد إلى آخره[١٦٢] وذكر أن منهم من يجعله ظاء مطلقا، وهم أكثر الشاميين. ومنهم من يمزجها بالطاء[١٦٣] (١٠/أ) المهملة وهم أكثر المصريين.[١٦٤] قلنا: هذا مخالف لما افتراه على المصريين،[١٦٥] لأنه قال إنهم ينطقون بها بين الطاء والدال، وهذا مبطل

الظاء عن الضاد، إذ بينهما خمسة مخارج كما يعلم من المقدمة، فعلم من هذه الثلاثة الأبيات اختلاف لفظي الضاد والظاء. فما نقل عن الجعبري من أن لفظ الضاد يضارع لفظ الظاء إن صح يحمل على المضارعة في الصفات بمعونة هذه الأبيات، ولم يتبعه في هذه العبارة أحد من اهل المهارة. وقال ابن [أم] قاسم في شرح العمدة: "إن اللام يشبه لفظه لفظ الضاد" انتهى. وليس بينهما تقارب في السمع. وقال ابن جني [سرّ ٦/١]: "إن صدى كل حرف يخالف صدى الآخر." وما ذكره عن الرعاية من أن الظاء حرف يشبه لفظه في السمع».

[١٥٩] مخروم في الأصل بقدر كلمة واحدة، والتكملة مما يقتضيه السياق. وفي سرايفو: «وما ذكره عن الرعاية من أن الظاء حرف يشبه لفظه في السمع لفظ الضاد افتراء على الرعاية فإني راجعت الرعاية فلم أجد فيها هذه العبارة، بل في الرعاية ما ينفي ذلك وهو قوله».

[١٦٠] لفظ الرعاية ٢٢٠: «ولولا اختلاف المخرجين والرخاوة لكانت الظاء ضاداً، إذ الصفات متقاربة».

[١٦١] سقط من سرايفو: «هذا المبتدع».

[١٦٢] سقط من سرايفو: «وأما الضاد إلى آخره وذكر».

[١٦٣] في الأصل: «بالظاء».

[١٦٤] راجع التمهيد ١٣١.

[١٦٥] سقط من سرايفو من «هذا مخالف لما افتراه على المصريين» إلى «خلوص الظاء وأما».

للنطق بالضاد كالظاء، لأنه ذم الشاميين لجعلهم لها ظاء، والنطق بالضاد كالظاء قريب من الظاء الخالصة ويجرّ إلى خلوص الظاء. وأما قوله: وهم أكثر المصريين فهذه الدعوى غير مسلمة لقوله تعالى ﴿إنّا نحن نزّلنا الذكر وإنّا له لحافظون﴾[١٦٦] وقوله ﷺ لا تجتمع أمتي على ضلالة.[١٦٧] ومن ذا الذي ترضى سجاياه كلها؟ كفى المرء نبلا أن تعد معائبه. قال علي القارئ:[١٦٨] إن المصنف[١٦٩] صنف التمهيد أولا[١٧٠] في سن البلوغ،[١٧١] والعمدة على النشر[١٧٢] فإنه وقع آخرا وهو الحق كما[١٧٣] جزم به القسطلاني.[١٧٤] انتهى. وقال القسطلاني: إن [ابن الجزري][١٧٥] اعترف بأنه صنف التمهيد في سن البلوغ، ولم يعز[ها في النـ]شر[١٧٦] لأحد من المصريين. وإذا كان صنف التمهيد في سن البلوغ، وولادته بدمشق الشام سنة إحدى وخمسين وسبع مائة،

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[١٦٦] سورة الحِجْر (١٥) الآية ٩.

[١٦٧] راجع موسوعة أطراف الحديث ٧/٧٠. وسقط من سرايبفو من «لقوله تعالى» إلى «على ضلالة».

[١٦٨] في سرايبفو (٧٩/ب): «قال القسطلاني».

[١٦٩] في سرايبفو: «إن ابن الجزري».

[١٧٠] سقط من سرايبفو: «أولا».

[١٧١] زيد في سرايبفو: «كما نبه هو عليه».

[١٧٢] زيد في سرايبفو: «ولم يعزُها في النشر لأحد من المصريين»، وسقط منه من «فإنه وقع» إلى «لأحد من المصريين».

[١٧٣] في الأصل: «كا».

[١٧٤] سقط من سرايبفو: «فإنه وقع أخرا وهو الحق كما جزم به القسطلاني».

[١٧٥] مخروم في الأصل بمقدار كلمة أو كلمتين، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

[١٧٦] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

فبعيد[١٧٧] أن يكون رأى مصر قبل تأليفه. وقوله: «صنّفه بالقاهرة المعزية»[١٧٨] عبارة غير مرضيّة. ليست لأحد معزية فيكون (١٠/ب) المراد بأكثر المصريين الذين في بلاده كالحمّارة والجمّالة ونحوهم، فهؤلاء لا عبرة بهم. وأما حملة القرآن من المصريين فيبعد نسبة هذا الغلط إليهم. قال ﷺ: «أشرف أمتي حملة القرآن».[١٧٩] وبعد تصنيفه الطيبة والنشر دخل القاهرة في أول سنة تسع وثماني[١٨٠] مائة، وقرأ عليه أهل مصر القراءات العشر مرتلين مجودين بإسناده إلى مشايخه السالفين. واستفادوا منه أعظم فوائد ومدحوه بأبلغ أشعار وقصائد كقول بعضهم: [من الطويل]

أيا شمس علمٍ بالقراءات أشرقتْ وحقّك قد منّ الإله على مصرِ
وها هي بالتقريب[١٨١] منك تضوّعتْ عبيرا وأضحت وهْي طيّبة النشر[١٨٢]

وتوفي رحمه الله بشيراز في ربيع الأول سنة ثلاث وثلاثين وثماني[١٨٣] مائة. وجميع أسانيد أهل القرآن الآن واصلة إليه بإقرا[ئه بمصر القر]آن[١٨٤] وإسنادنا

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[١٧٧] في سرايفو: «فيبعد».

[١٧٨] في بغية المرتاد (٣٠/أ): «ألفه بالقاهرة المعزية».

[١٧٩] راجع موسوعة أطراف الحديث ٥٤١/١. وزيد في سرايفو: «وأيضا مثل هذه العبارة يؤتى بها مبالغة في التحذير في التغيير».

[١٨٠] في الأصل: «ثمان».

[١٨١] فيه إشارة إلى تأليف ابن الجزري، وراجع الإتقان ١٨/١: «وهذه أسماء الكتب التي نظرتها على هذا الكتاب ولخصته منها... ومن كتب القراءات وتعلّقات الأداء: النشر والتقريب لابن الجزري».

[١٨٢] فيه إشارة إلى مؤلفي ابن الجزري: النشر في القراءات العشر، وطيّبة النشر.

[١٨٣] في الأصل: «وثمان».

متصل إليه بطرق عالية شهيرة[185] بل [قال شيخـ]نا[186] الشيخ أحمد بن أحمد بن محمد العجمي: قرأت سورة الـ[فاتحة عـ]لى[187] شيخنا الشهاب أحمد بن سلامة القليوبي[188] وأجازني بها بسنده إلى قاضي الجن شمهورش (؟) يعني ناقلا عن النبي ﷺ (١١/أ) واشتهر ذلك أيضا عن شيخنا الشيخ سلطان. ومصداق هذا قوله تعالى: ﴿وإذ صرفنا إليك نفرا من الجنّ يستمعون القرآن﴾.[189]

إذا علم ذلك فكيف يصغى لقول ذلك المبتدع المرعشي الذي زين له الشيطان الرعشة في لسانه بالضاد[190]، فضلّ وأضلّ بعض العباد من جهلة البلاد، مجترئا على من عمّ نفعهم جميعَ البقاع، إذ قال: لعل غلط المصريين قد شاع.[191] قال الشيخ الجزائري رحمه الله تعالى: وكل من ردّ ما قلنا فمبتدع،

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[184] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو، وفيه «وجميع أسانيد أهل القرآن واصلة متصلة إليه بإقرائه بمصر القرآن».

[185] في سرايفو: «بطريق عالية شهيرة نامية».

[186] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو.

[187] مطموس في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو.

[188] في الأصل: «القليوني»، والإثبات من كحالة ٩٤/١.

[189] سورة الأحقاف (٤٦) الآية ٢٩.

[190] في سرايفو: «المرعشي المرتعش بالضاد».

[191] راجع المرعشي، كيفية أداء الضاد (٤١/أ)، وراجع اقتباس كلام المرعشي في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٧-٢٧٨: «فإن قلت: فكيف شاع التقصير في أكثر الأقطار؟ قلت: ألم تسمع ما قاله صاحب الرعاية: التحفظ بلفظ الضاد المعجمة أمر يقصر فيه أكثر من رأيت ... وذلك في تاريخ أربعمائة وعشرين، وزماننا هذا أحق بالتقصير، فلعل غلط المصريين قد شاع». وقارن كلام المرعشي المقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٧: «وأما المقصد فهو أن ما شاع في أكثر الأقطار من تلفظ الضاد المعجمة كالطاء

فانبذه عنك ولا تسمع لذي زلل، فكل ذي بدعة لو كان مدعيا في علمه أنه يعلو على رجل أغشى البصيرة أن تردد[١٩٢] ضلالته تراه للحق يبدو غير منتحل. فلازم العلماء العالمين به واسلك طريقهم. وإن جهلت[١٩٣] س[ره وقد ذكرنـ]ـا[١٩٤] في المقدمة[١٩٥] من الآيات والأحاديث الصحيحة [وعبارات الثقـا]ت[١٩٦] ما يغني في الرد على المبتدعين وان العلم بلا سند من [وسـ]ـوسة[١٩٧] الشياطين.

ثم قال في الرسالة المقدسية – وأظن أن نسبتها إلى[١٩٨] عليّ المقدسي افترائية –: ليس مرادي بكون الضاد شبيهة بالظاء كونَها ممزوجة بها غاية الامتزاج (١١/ب) إلى آخر ما قال. قلت: قوله «ليست[١٩٩] ممزوجة بها غاية الامتزاج» يفيد امتزاجها بها ولو بعض امتزاج. وهذه هي الضاد الضعيفة على قول السيرافي وسيبويه.[٢٠٠] وقوله «بالضاد كالظاء هو المقبول[٢٠١] نص في النطق بها

المهملة في السمع بسبب إعطائها شدة وإطباقا أقوى كإطباق الطاء وتفخيماً بالغاً كتفخيمها خطأ بوجوه».

[١٩٢] في سرايفو (٨٠/أ): «أن ترد».

[١٩٣] في سرايفو: «وإن قلت».

[١٩٤] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو.

[١٩٥] زيد في سرايفو: «الأولى».

[١٩٦] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو.

[١٩٧] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايفو.

[١٩٨] زيد «إلى» تحت السطر بخط مختلف.

[١٩٩] زيد في سرايفو: «ليست» فوق السطر بخط مختلف.

[٢٠٠] سيبويه ٤٠٤/٢–٤٠٥.

[٢٠١] في سرايفو: «إن اللفظ بالضاد كالظاء المعجمة هو المقبول». وراجع بغية

بين الضاد والظاء. ألا ترى إلى قوله في الطيبة: «والصاد كالزاي صنفا» معناه أنه ينطق بها بين الصاد والزاي، أي حرفا ممتزجا مركبا من الصاد والزاي.[٢٠٢]
وكقول الشاطبي:[٢٠٣]

وَالأُخْرَى كمدٍّ عند وَرْشٍ[٢٠٤] وقُنْبُلٍ[٢٠٥]

وكقوله:[٢٠٦] فنَوْعانِ[٢٠٧] قُلْ كاليا وكالواو[٢٠٨] سُهِّلاَ

وكقول سيبويه في الكتاب:[٢٠٩] والشين التي كالجيم والصاد التي تكون كالزاي والجيم التي كالكاف والجيم التي كالشين والطاء التي كالتاء والظاء التي كالثاء والصاد كالسين والباء كالفاء،[٢١٠] كل ذلك معنا[ه بين بين، فقو]له[٢١١] الضاد كالظاء صريح في الامتزاج[٢١٢]. وكان عليا[...] معنى هذا

المرتاد (٢١/ب).

[٢٠٢] سقط من سرايبفو: «ألا ترى إلى قوله في الطيبة: والصاد كالزاي صنفا معناه أنه ينطق بها بين الصاد والزاي، أي حرفا ممتزجا مركبا من الصاد والزاي».

[٢٠٣] في سرايبفو: «وكقوله». وراجع إبراز المعاني ١٤٢ (رقم ٢٠٦)، شرح شعلة ١٢٣. وعجز هذا البيت: «وقد قيلَ مَحْضُ المَدِّ عنها تَبَدَّلاَ».

[٢٠٤] انتهت إليه رئاسة الإقراء بالديار المصرية في زمانه (١١٠ هـ-١٩٧ هـ).

[٢٠٥] شيخ القراء بالحجاز (١٩٥هـ - ٢٩١هـ).

[٢٠٦] إبراز المعاني ١٤٥ (رقم ٢١٠)، شرح شعلة ١٢٥. وصدر هذا البيت: «نَشاءُ أصَبْنا» و«السماءِ أوِ ائْتِنَا».

[٢٠٧] في الأصل: «ونوعان»، والإثبات من إبراز المعاني وشرح شعلة.

[٢٠٨] في الأصل: «كل الواو»، والتصحيح من إبراز المعاني وشرح شعلة.

[٢٠٩] راجع سيبويه ٢/٤٠٤.

[٢١٠] في سرايبفو: «والجيم التي كالشين إلى غير ذلك».

[٢١١] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

المزج هل هو بطريق الشيوع أو بطر[يق...]از.[٢١٣] ويؤيد هذا المعنى قوله تابعه المرعشي المرتعش بالضاد إن صلحا[٢١٤] جعلتها كالظاء المعجمة في السمع[٢١٥] بأن جعلت مخرجها (١٢/أ) من حافة اللسان مع ما يليها من الأضراس وأعطيت لها صفاتها المذكورة فهذا هو الصواب المؤيد بكلمات الأئمة في كتبهم.[٢١٦] قلنا: هذا المبتدع يستحق أن يجازى بصمم السمع، إذ لم يقل أحد من الأئمة إن الضاد كالظاء المعجمة في السمع. وتخالف المخرجين يدل على اختلاف اللفظين. قال ابن جنّي:[٢١٧] وتختلف أجراس الحروف بحسب اختلاف لفظها. وذلك نحو الكاف، فإنك إذا قطعت بها سمعت هناك صدى. فإذا رجعت إلى القاف سمعت غيره. وإن جزت إلى الجيم سمعت غير ذينك الأولين. ولا يخفى أيضا بطلان قول المرتعش في الراء[٢١٨] إنه شاع

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[٢١٢] زيد في سراييفو: «بين الضاد الضعيفة بلا اشتباه».

[٢١٣] مخروم في الأصل، وسقط من سراييفو من «وكان» إلى «بطر[يق...]از».

[٢١٤] سقط من سراييفو: «بالضاد» و«صلحا».

[٢١٥] في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٨: «فإن لفظت بالضاد».

[٢١٦] اقتبس باختلافات ضئيلة في الدراسات الصوتية ٢٧٨-٢٧٩، وذلك من خاتمة المرعشي لكتابه جهد المقل. وفي كيفية أداء الضاد للمرعشي (٤٠/ب): «وأمّا إن جعلتها كالظاء المعجمة في السمع بأن جعلت مخرجها من حافة اللسان مع ما يليها من الأضراس وأعطيت لها صفاتها المذكورة وهي الإطباق والتفخيم الوسطان والرخاوة والجهر والاستطالة والتفشّي القليل فهذا هو الصواب المؤيّد بكلمات الأئمّة في كتبهم». وراجع المرعشي (٤٠/أ). وسقط من سراييفو من «بأن جعلت» إلى «المذكورة» ومن «المؤيد» إلى «كتبهم».

[٢١٧] في سراييفو زيادة: «وما نقل عن الرعاية خلاف ما في الرعاية. وتخالف المخرجين يقتضي اختلاف اللفظين بل كل حرف له صدى مخالف لصدى غيره. قال ابن جني»، وراجع ابن جنّي ٦/١.

في ﴿الرحمن الرحيم﴾ تقليل تشديد الراء،[٢١٩] مع أن صاحب الرعاية قال: فإذا كان الحرف المشدّد راء وجب على القارئ أن يتـ[ـحفظ في تشدي]دها[٢٢٠] مع إخفاء تكريرها فيشددها تشديدا [بالغا.[٢٢١] انتهى. قال: تلخ]ص[٢٢٢] من كلام الرعاية أن أبلغ الحروف المشددة تشـ[ـديدا هو الراء.[٢٢٣] قلت: هذا مخالف لقول العلامة ابن الجزري: وأخفِ تكريرا إذا تشدد، أي لا تبالغ في تكرير المشدد.[٢٢٤] فعبارة الرعاية إن كانت صحيحة تحمل على أن إخفاء في معنى النفي، أي لا تكررها (١٢/ب) فتشدّدَها[٢٢٥] تشديدا بالغا. ثم إني بعد ذلك راجعت الرعاية فلم أجد فيها هذه العبارة. قال الجعبري:[٢٢٦] وطريق السلامة من التكرير[٢٢٧] أن يلصق اللافظ[٢٢٨] ظهر لسانه

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[٢١٨] في سرايبفو: «ولا يخفى أيضا بطلان رعشته في الراء وقوله».

[٢١٩] راجع المرعشي (٤٠/ب).

[٢٢٠] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

[٢٢١] لفظ الرعاية ١٩٦: «واذا تكرّرت الراءُ، والأولى مشددة أو مخففة، وجب التحفظ على إظهارهما وإخفاء التكرير، نحو ﴿شهر رمضان﴾ و﴿محرَّرا﴾ ... التحفظ على إظهار الراء وإخفاء التكرير واجب». وفي الرعاية ١٣١: «كأن طرف اللسان يرتعد به، وأظهر ما يكون ذلك إذا كانت الراء مشدّدة، ولا بد في القراءة من إخفاء التكرير». وقارن النشر ٢٠٤/١.

[٢٢٢] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

[٢٢٣] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

[٢٢٤] سقط من سرايبفو: «أي لا تبالغ في تكرير المشدد».

[٢٢٥] في الأصل: «يكررها فيشددها» بإعجام الياء، وكذا في سرايبفو.

[٢٢٦] مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٣١٦ عن المرادي: شرح الواضحة ص ٤٤، والمفيد (له) ١١٣و. والقسطلاني: اللآلي السنية ١٢و.

[٢٢٧] في الدراسات الصوتية: «منه».

على حنكه[٢٢٩] لصقا محكما مرة واحدة، ومتى ارتعد حدث من كل مرّة راء. وقال مكي: [٢٣٠] لا بد في القراءة من إخفاء التكرير.[٢٣١] ومتى[٢٣٢] أظهر[٢٣٣] فقد جعل من الحرف المشدد حروفا، ومن المخفّف حرفين. وقال في النشر:[٢٣٤] يجب أن يلفظ بالراء مشددة تشديدا ينبو به اللسان نبوة واحدة وارتفاعا واحدا من غير مبالغة في الحصر والعسر نحو ﴿الرحمن الرحيم﴾[٢٣٥]. انتهى. قال المرتعش[٢٣٦] إنه شاع قراءتهم الطاء المهملة تاء مفخمة بإعطائها همسا مع أن الطاء المهملة والتاء والدال من مخرج واحد. والطاء تفترق عن التاء بالجهر والإطباق، وعن الدا[ل بالإطباق][٢٣٧] فقط فيجب أن تلفظ الطاء دالا مفخمة لا[تاء مفخمة. قلت: دعوى][٢٣٨] الهمس غير مسلمة فإنا ننطق بها طاء

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[٢٢٨] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «به».

[٢٢٩] في الدراسات الصوتية: «بأعلى حنكه».

[٢٣٠] لفظ الرعاية ١٩٦: «فواجب علي القارئ أن يخفي تكريره ولا يظهره، ومتى أظهره فقد جعل من الحرف المشدّد حروفا، ومن المخفّف حرفين. وذلك نحو ﴿الرحمن الرحيم﴾ ...». وهذا الكلام مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٣١٦ عن الرعاية (طبعة دمشق)، ١٧٠، وفي سرايبفو: «ومتى ارتعد حصل في كل مرة راء وقال».

[٢٣١] في الأصل: «التكنرير».

[٢٣٢] زيد في الدراسات الصوتية: «ما».

[٢٣٣] في الدراسات الصوتية: «أظهره».

[٢٣٤] النشر ٢١٩/١، وهو مقتبس في الدراسات الصوتية ٣١٧.

[٢٣٥] سورة الفاتحة الآية ١.

[٢٣٦] اقتبست الدراسات الصوتية ٢٤٦-٢٤٧ رأياً مشابهاً من جهد المقل لمحمد المرعشي (ت ١١٥٠هـ).

[٢٣٧] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو (٨٠/ب).

[٢٣٨] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة من سرايبفو.

مجهورة شـ[ديدة مستعـ]لية[٢٣٩] مفخمة مطبقة خالصة عن شوب الدال والتاء[٢٤٠] [كما هو د]أب[٢٤١] المجودين العالمين بطرق الأداء كما تلقوه مشافهة عن أفاضل القراء.[٢٤٢] (١٣/أ) وكون الثلاثة من مخرج واحد تقريب. والتحقيق أن لكل حرف مخرجا مخالفا لمخرج الآخر، وإلا لكان إياه[٢٤٣] كما ذكره الجاربردي[٢٤٤] وتبعه القاضي زكرياء. وقال القسطلاني: وهذه المخارج على سبيل التقريب، وإلاّ فلكل حرف مخرج. ولا عبرة برد علي القارئ له،[٢٤٥] فإن الحس يشهد لذلك المنهج على أن الطاء لها موضعان من اللسان، فامتازت عن التاء والدال[٢٤٦] بموضع ثان. وقوله: يجب أن تلفظ الطاء[٢٤٧] دالا مفخمة دعوى باطلة مخترعة[٢٤٨] محرمة، إذ[٢٤٩] ليس في لغة

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[٢٣٩] مخروم في الأصل، والتكملة مما يقتضيه السياق. وفي سرايـيفو: «دعوى الهمس غير مسلمة فإنا ننطق بها طاءً مطبقة مجهورة خالصة عن شوب الدال والتاء كما هو دأب المجودين العالمين بطرق الأداء». وبصدد صفات الطاء راجع ١٣/ب أدناه.

[٢٤٠] في سرايـيفو: «فإنا ننطق بها طاءً مطبقة مجهورة خالصة عن شوب الدال والتاء كما هو دأب المجودين العالمين بطرق الأداء».

[٢٤١] مطموس في الأصل، والإثبات من سرايـيفو.

[٢٤٢] سقط من سرايـيفو: «كما تلقوه مشافهة عن أفاضل القراء».

[٢٤٣] سقط من سرايـيفو: «وإلا لكان إياه».

[٢٤٤] نسخة مشابهة في مجموعة الشافية ٢/٢٣٦.

[٢٤٥] في سرايـيفو: «ولا عبرة ببحث علي القارئ فيه».

[٢٤٦] في سرايـيفو: «عن الدال والتاء».

[٢٤٧] في سرايـيفو: «الطاء المهملة».

[٢٤٨] في سرايـيفو: «مفتراة».

[٢٤٩] في الأصل: «إذا»، وفي سرايـيفو سقطت هذه الجملة.

العرب دال مفخمة،[٢٥٠] ولم يقل أحد ممن سلف إن الطاء دال مفخمة أو تاء مفخمة.[٢٥١] فإن أراد بالدال المفخمة[٢٥٢] ما ينطق به الأطفال والجهال في نطقهم بضال أو طال مكان دال، فهذا لحن[٢٥٣] مستهجن يجب الاحتراز عنه في كلام المتعال.[٢٥٤] وإن أراد أن الدال تُكسَى[٢٥٥] الإطباقَ فتحول إلى الطاء، فكذلك يجوز تحويل التاء بالإطباق إلى الطاء. ولا يمنع من ذلك صفة الهمس، لأنها إذا حولت إلى الطاء لم يبق فيها همس. على أن في كلام هذين الاثنين المبتدعين خلطا شديدا[٢٥٦] وخبطا (١٣/ب) بغير ميز، لأن الدعوى أن المصريين ينطقون الضاد بين الدال المفخمة والطاء، والدالُ المفخمة عندهما هي الطاء، فصار المعنى بين الطاء والطاء، وهذا لا يقوله جاهل فضلا عن عاقل. وكلام العلامة ابن الجزري في التمهيد صريح في أن التاء إذا فخمت تصير طاء مهملة.[٢٥٧] قال رحمه الله:[٢٥٨] إذا جاءت التاء المثناة قبل

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[٢٥٠] سقط من سراييفو: «إذ ليس في لغة العرب دال مفخمة».

[٢٥١] سقط من سراييفو: «أو تاء مفخمة». وزيد فيه: «وليس في لغة العرب دال مفخمة. ولم يستند في ذلك إلى شيخ، لا ماض بعيد ولا دان، ومن لا شيخ له فشيخه الشيطان. وفي ذلك إنكار حرفين (٨١/أ) من حروف القرآن ومن أنكر حرفا من حروف القرآن عامة فقد كفر أهل الفرقان كما بينه القاضي عياض في الشفاء بأوضح بيان».

[٢٥٢] في سراييفو (٨١/أ): «والظاهر أنه أراد بالدال المفخمة».

[٢٥٣] في الأصل: «الحن»، وسقطت هذه الكلمة من سراييفو.

[٢٥٤] هكذا في الأصل وفي سراييفو.

[٢٥٥] هكذا في الأصل، ولعل الصواب «تكسب».

[٢٥٦] في الأصل: «خلط شديدا».

[٢٥٧] في سراييفو بدلا من «وإن أراد أن الدال تكسي ... تصير طاء مهملة»: «فنقول: يجوز تحويل كل من الدال والتاء بالإطباق إلى الطاء ولا يمنع من تحويل

حرف الإطباق في كلمة، لزم بيانها وتخليصها بلفظ مرقق غير مفخم، نحو قوله: ﴿أفتطمعون﴾[٢٥٩] ﴿ولا تَطْغَوْا﴾[٢٦٠] و﴿تطهيرا﴾[٢٦١] لأن الطاء والتاء من مخرج واحد، لكن الطاء حرف قوي فيه جهر وشدة وإطباق واستعلاء، والتاء متسفلة[٢٦٢] منفتحة مهموسة. والقوي إذا تقدمه الضعيف وهو مجاوره، جذبه إلى نفسه. ألا ترى أن التاء إذا وقعت بعد حرف إطباق لم يكن بد من أن يبدل منها طاء، نحو اصطفى واضطر، ليعمل اللسان عملا واحد. انتهى. فالطاء تاء مفخمة،[٢٦٣] لا كما قال المرتعش دال مفخمة. وكلامه في التمهيد مفيد أن تحويل الحرف الضعيف إلى القوي أقرب من تحويل الحرف القوي إلى أقوى (١٤/أ) منه. ولعل هذا هو السر في أن التاء المفخمة تفخيما خالصا تصير طاء. والدال إذ فخمت تفخيما خالصا تصير ضادا[٢٦٤]. ولا يمنع من ذلك اختلاف المخرجين. ألا ترى أن الزاي إذا فخمت تفخيما خالصا تصير ظاء مع اختلاف المخرجين. ولقول سيبويه:[٢٦٥] لولا الإطباق لصارت الطاء دالا،

التاء إليها صفة الهمس،لأنها إذا حولت إليها لم يبق فيها جهر. وكلام العلامة ابن الجزري صريح في أن التاء المثناة تصير بالتفخيم طاءً مهملة».

[٢٥٨] في سرايبفو: «قال رحمه الله تعالى في التمهيد».

[٢٥٩] سورة البقرة (٢) الآية ٧٥.

[٢٦٠] سورة هود (١١) الآية ١١٢.

[٢٦١] سورة الأحزاب (٣٣) الآية ٣٣.

[٢٦٢] في الأصل: «منسفلة.»

[٢٦٣] في سرايبفو: «فعلم منه أن الطاء تاء مفخمة».

[٢٦٤] في سرايبفو: «تفخيما قويا تصير بالإطباق طاءً، والدال إذا فخمت تفخيما وسطا تصير بالإطباق ضادًا».

[٢٦٥] في سرايبفو: «وقول سيبويه»، وراجع سيبويه ٢/٤٠٦.

ذكره في بحث الإطباق، والمقام مخصص، أي لولا الإطباق مع بقاء الجهر لصارت دالا، لا تاء، لأنها مهموسة. فلو زال عنها الإطباق والجهر لصارت تاء، ولم تصر دالا. فالحاصل أن الطاء إذا زال عنها الإطباق تصير دالا، وإذا زال عنها الجهر تصير تاء.[٢٦٦] والدال تصير بالإطباق[٢٦٧] طاء مهملة،[٢٦٨] وبالهمس – تاء مثناة. والتاء المثناة تصير بالجهر دالا، وبالإطباق طاء. وقلب التاء إلى الطاء لضعفها أقرب من قلب الدال إلى الطاء. فيجب الاحتراز عن تفخيم التاء لئلا تصير طاء، وعن الجهر بها لئلا تصير دالا. ويجب التحفظ بما فيها من الشدة لئلا تصير رخوة، فربما تصير سينا إذا كانت ساكنة، نحو ﴿فتنة﴾،[٢٦٩] لقرب مخرجها منها، فتحدث الرخاوة والصفير. فإن أتى بعدها (١٤/ب) ألف غير ممالة نحو ﴿تائبون﴾،[٢٧٠] وجب ترقيقها. والدال المهملة يجب االتحرز عن الهمس فيها، لئلا تصير تاء. ويجب بيان شدتها وجهرها وقلقلتها إذا سكنت من غير حركة.[٢٧١] ولم يذكر أحد من القراء

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[٢٦٦] في سرايیفو: «وتقدم أن الطاء أقوى حروف الإطباق، والظاء أضعفها والصاد والضاد متوسطتان».

[٢٦٧] في سرايیفو (٨١/ب): «بالإطباق الأقوى».

[٢٦٨] زيد في سرايیفو: «وبالإطباق الوسط ضادا وبالهمس تاءً مثناتاً (هكذا!) والتاء المثناة تصير بالجهر دالا وبالإطباق طاءً، وقلب التاء إلى الطاء لضعفهاأقرب من قلب الدال إلى الطاء لقوّتها، فيجب الاحتراز عن تفخيم التاء لئلا تصير طاءً، وعن الجهر بها لئلا تصير دالا».

[٢٦٩] انظر مثلا سورة البقرة (٢) الآية ١٠٢، وآيات أخرى.

[٢٧٠] في سرايیفو: «تابوت».

[٢٧١] زيد في سرايیفو: «ولم يصرح أحد بأن الدال تصير بالإطباق طاءً. وإن ادعى مدّعٍ أنه مفهوم من كلام سيبويه فهو من قياس العكس وهو غير معتبر عند

الاحتراز عن تفخيم الدال. والطاءُ المهملة من أقوى الحروف لما فيها من صفات القوة. فإن تكررت نحو ﴿ شَطَطًا ﴾،[٢٧٢] وجب بيانها كتشديدها نحو ﴿ اطّيّر ﴾.[٢٧٣] فإن سكنت نحو ﴿ الخَطْفَة ﴾[٢٧٤] ﴿ وأطْغى ﴾[٢٧٥] ونحو ﴿ الأسباط ﴾[٢٧٦] في الوقف، تعين بيان إطباقها وقلقلتها. قال شيخنا الشيخ سلطان: وأما تعريف القلقلة فصوت حادث عند حرفها[٢٧٧] لضغطه عن موضعه. ولا يكون إلا عند الوقف، ولا يستطاع أن يُوقف عليه دونها مع طلب إظهار ذاته. كذا قال مكيّ. وقوله: «ولا يكون إلا في الوقف» مراد من الوقف السكون. جرى في ذلك على أسلوب المتقدمين في إطلاق الوقف على السكون. وحروف القلقلة قطب جد.[٢٧٨] انتهى.

قال العلامة ابن الجزري [من الرجز]:

وبيّناً مقلقلا إنْ سَكَنَا   وإن يكن في الوقف كان أبْيَنَا

قال أبو حيان: والفرق بين صوت القلقلة وصوت الحروف (١٥ /أ) الرخوة أن الأول لا يكون إلا في الوقف، والثاني يكون في الوصل والوقف. انتهى. فإن قلت: على مقتضى ما قلت من تأويل الوقف بالسكون يكون معنى قول أبي

القراء».

[٢٧٢] سورة الكهف (١٨) الآية ١٤/سورة الجنّ (٧٢) الآية ٤.

[٢٧٣] فيه إشارة إلى «اطّيّرْنا» في سورة النمل (٤٧) الآية ٢٧.

[٢٧٤] سورة الصافات (٣٧) الآية ١٠.

[٢٧٥] سورة النجم (٥٣) الآية ٥٢.

[٢٧٦] سورة البقرة (٢) الآية ١٣٦، ١٤٠ وآيات أخرى.

[٢٧٧] في سراييفو: «خروجها».

[٢٧٨] في الرعاية ١٢٤: «يجمعها هجاء قولك: «جد بطق».

حيان في الوصل مقابل السكون وهو التحرك فتكون الرخاوة في المتحرك والساكن. وهذا خلاف ما ذكرته عن سيبويه أن الرخاوة في حال السكون. قلنا: المفهوم من كتب الصرفيين والمقرئين أن الرخاوة معناها اللين وقبول جري الصوت بالتليين، فاللين موجود في الحالتين، ويمتحن بإجراء الصوت في حال السكوت، كالغصن[٢٧٩] الرطب الذي تمتحن رطوبته بالتليين.[٢٨٠] بل مقتضى كلام الرضي أن جميع الحروف المتحركة فيها رخاوة ما أعني الثمانية والعشرين. قال: وإنما اعتبر في امتحان الشديدة والرخوة إسكان الحروف، لأنك لو حركتها – والحركات أبعاض الواو والألف والياء وفيها رخاوة ما – لجرّت[٢٨١] الحركات لشدة اتصالها بالحرف الشديد إلى شيء من الرخاوة، فلم تتبين شدتها. ولنرجع إلى الخاتمة ونسأل الرحيم حسن الخاتمة.[٢٨٢] قال المقدسي: لولا مخرج الضاد (١٥/ب) والاستطالة لصارت الضاد ظاء مشالة.[٢٨٣] وهذا ظاهر البطلان والجهالة بلا محالة. كيف يخرج من العدم شيء ليس له مخرج ولا مخرج، وهو معارض بقول سيبويه:[٢٨٤] لولا الإطباق

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[٢٧٩] في سرايفو: «لأن معنى الرخاوة اللين وقبول جري الصوت حال السكون، واللين موجود في حروفها وصلا ووقفا. ويمتحن بقبول جري الصوت عند السكون. وذلك كالغصن».

[٢٨٠] في الأصل: «بالتلين»، وكتب في الهامش «بالتليين»، وفي سرايفو: «تمتحن رطوبته بالتليين».

[٢٨١] زيد في الهامش: «لجرت».

[٢٨٢] في سرايفو: «ولنختم بالخاتمة ونسأل الرحيم حسن الخاتمة».

[٢٨٣] راجع القسطلاني، لطائف ٢٣٣: «وكذلك يجب إظهارها (أي الظاء المعجمة) إذا تحركت حيث وقعت، خوفا من أن تلتبس بالضاد الغير المشالة، أو بالذال المعجمة، كما التبست على كثيرين، فتعين تمييز كلٍّ».

في الضاد لخرجت من الكلام، فأحرى زوال المخرج الذي به الكمية والقوام.
فكن على نهج سبيل السلفِ ❊ في مجمع عليه أو مختلفِ ❊ وتابع الصالح
ممن سلفا ❊ وجانب البدعة ممن خلفا ❊ فكل خير في اتّباع من سلفْ ❊ وكلّ
شرّ في ابتداع مَنْ خلفْ❊

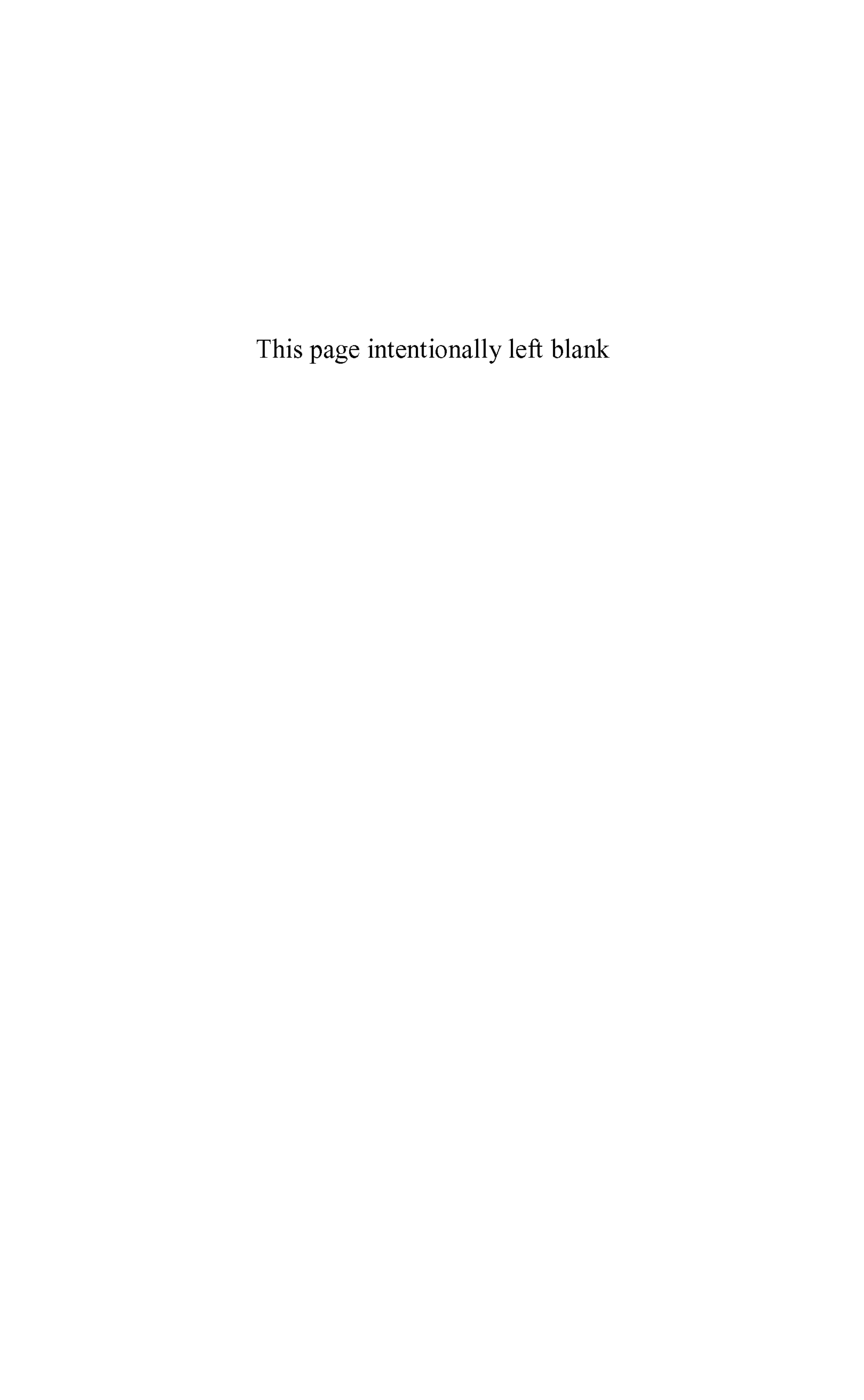
وأفضل الصلاة والتسليم على النبي الرؤوف الرحيم وآله
وصحبه ومتبع هداهم وتابع لمن تبع[٢٨٥] حرره[٢٨٦] الفقير
أحمد بن أبو (هكذا!) بكر غفر الله له ولوالديه
ومشايخه والمسلمين والحمد لله ربّ العالمين

م

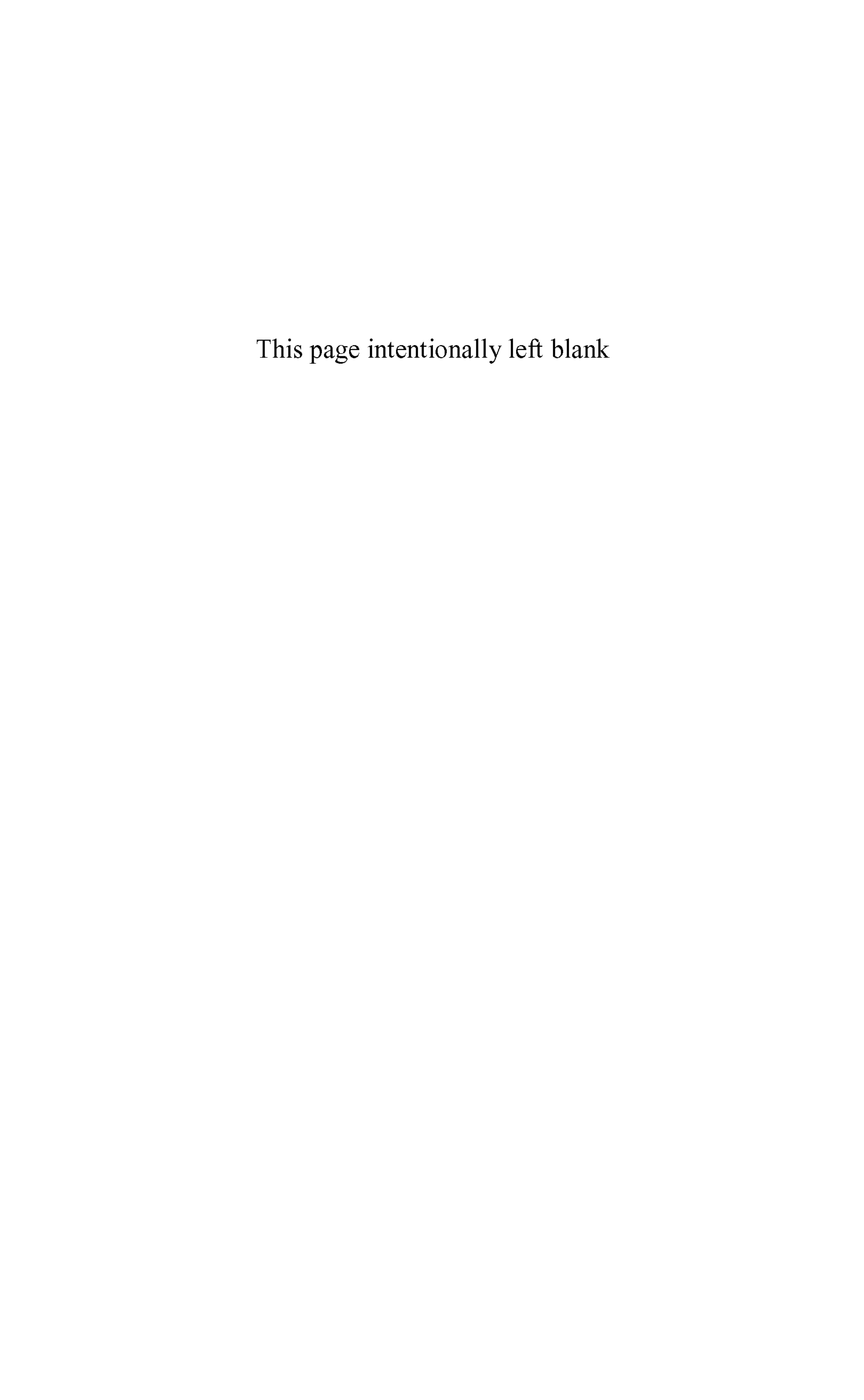
[٢٨٤] سيبويه ٢/٤٠٦.

[٢٨٥] زيد في سرايبفو: «وسبحانه وتعالى أعلم بالصواب وإليه المرجع والمآب. لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم».

[٢٨٦] سقط من سرايبفو من «حرر» إلى «ربّ العالمين». والمراد بـ«حرره» «نسخه» كما في بقفسل ١٩٣٤:٢، س.٢٠. إذ المؤلف أبو علي الفارسي توفي سنة ٣٧٧ هـ، في حين تم تحرير الكتاب سنة ٦٤٢ هـ.


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